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The Shape of Things

BLINDLY, WITHOUT GENERAL PUBLIC understanding or consent, without even a clear picture of what lies at the end, the United States takes its first steps along the road of big-power politics. That "help" for starving Greece also means financial support for the Greek government in its war against the guerrilla forces is taken for granted. The probability that it will also lead to similar support of the Turkish government is also unofficially admitted. But the full meaning of these facts is blurred; first, no doubt, by a desire to keep the fat out of the fire during the Moscow meetings; second, by traditional State Department reluctance to explain complicated and threatening situations to the American public. The tendency is to use homeopathic methods of enlightenment. First the people are offered a little pellet named "relief for starving people"; then a dose of "economic support for the Greek government"; then a suggestion that the Communist threat in the Balkans is behind it all. But much more is involved. Propping up a rotten, reactionary oligarchy in Greece is an act that makes sense only in terms of very large strategic purposes. Surely we do not propose to take over what are euphemistically described as "Britain's obligations" out of love of the ruling group in Greece. We do it as part of a broad plan to contain Russia within its present area of influence. What will this plan involve in Turkey—in Palestine, and the rest of the Middle East—in North Africa? What effect will it have on the revolutionary changes that today threaten the corrupt and decadent groups in power in those areas? What influence will it have on our policy in Germany; on our relations with the near-socialist governments of Western Europe? What will such a plan do to the United Nations and the hope of using that body as a means of establishing and guarding international security? These are a few of the questions Americans should ask their representatives and officials in Washington before—not after—the die is finally cast in Greece.

*

IN HIS HOUSE OF COMMONS SPEECH OF March 6, Winston Churchill again exposed the insincerity of the Tory case against the government's decision to leave India in 1948. Oppressed by the fact, and unable to deny its truth, that Britain lacks both the force and the desire to govern India against its will, Mr. Churchill could only plead Britain's sacred duty of protecting minorities, presumably in the hope that morality would overcome discretion. To judge by his proposal to call upon the United Nations for "aid or advice," it was a despairing hope. The Tory leader's logic is curious and revealing. Reduced to its essentials it runs as follows: By announcing Britain's early withdrawal from India the Labor Party has wrecked the chances of unity in India, upon which the right to liberty depends. Therefore the United Nations should attempt to bring the Indian parties together. For what purpose? The question is a pertinent one, for if the United Nations succeeded in creating unity, Britain would then be able to keep its promise, which is the last thing Mr. Churchill desires. The war-time leader once declared that he had not become Prime Minister in order to liquidate the Empire, but in the pinch of absolute necessity he would permit Britain to become the client of the Trusteeship Council. After all, a mandate to govern India after the Palestine model might put off the evil day of departure for another fifteen or twenty years and frustrate British socialism into the bargain.

*

IF THE NEWSPRINT SHORTAGE BECAME SO severe that American periodicals were forced to suspend operation, would the New York *Times* offer a full page, once a week, to *The Nation,* for such use as we might make of it? We are inclined to wonder. There is no need to wonder about the fellowship of the press in Britain, however, for when the fuel crisis forced the government to ban all magazines, including weekly journals of opinion, at least five daily newspapers, themselves curtailed by restrictions, immediately offered the hospitality of their pages to the *New Statesman and Nation,* a publication somewhat comparable to *The Nation* in America. A recent edition of the *News Chronicle* carrying a page turned over to the *New Statesman's* editors has reached America. As the editor of the *New Statesman's* "London Diary" wrote in the *News Chronicle* that day, we "are not sure that anything of this kind could happen in any other country. Here is proof . . . that the special function of the political weeklies is fully appreciated" in England.

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ARCHBISHOP McINTYRE'S DENUNCIATION OF the Austin-Mahoney anti-discrimination bill as "formed after a communistic pattern" is surely one of the most fantastic charges ever made against this or any similar measure. Quite as astonishing is the argument upon which it rests. According to the Archbishop, "The bill states that education is the function of the state. Education is not the function of the state. Education is the function of the parent. If the statement that education is a state function is written into the law it will permit future encroachments on the parental function of education. That is what we mean by the infiltration of communistic ideas." And if public education administered by the state is what the Archbishop means by communism, then as a high official of his church he is taking a stand against a basic principle of our democratic system. We wish to state our vigorous twentieth-century belief in the wisdom of our Founding Fathers in charging the state with the responsibility of education. Moreover, we believe that it is the collective duty of citizens to see that no discrimination on account of race, color, or religion deprives their children of what they can rightfully claim from the state. In our view the sponsors of the Austin-Mahoney bill are trying to fulfil that duty. We only wish they had not agreed to water down its provisions in deference to the archaic and bigoted views of the Archbishop and his confrères.

✶

FRAGMENT OF A SCENARIO FROM A MOVIE that Leo McCarey will probably never make: Spike of Brooklyn—"Oh, Fadder, I have sinned." Low Baritone Voice—"What have you done, my son?" Spike—"Fadder, I went tuh see duh Dodgeuhs play duh Cahds." Low Baritone Voice—"My son, that was a very grave sin. You knew that the Catholic Youth Organization of Brooklyn had withdrawn its membership from the Dodger Knot-Hole Club as long as Mr. Durocher is allowed to manage the team." Spike—"I know, Fadder. I used tuh get tuh see duh Dodgeuhs t'ree times a year for free. Now it cost me a buck ten tuh see dem bums." Low Baritone Voice—"You know, Spike, that Father Vincent J. Powell, director of our Brooklyn C. Y. O., has disapproved of Mr. Durocher's recent . . . uh . . . marriage to a lady with a . . . a sort of Mexican divorce. This has convinced us, as Father Powell said, that Mr. Durocher's example will be a powerful force for undermining the spiritual training of our young boys." Spike—"I know, Fadder. I am sorry I sinned." Low Baritone Voice—"You must do penance, my son. You must make five . . . five, that is . . . ah . . . five . . . what did you say the score was, my son?"

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AS A FOOTNOTE TO KEITH HUTCHISON'S article on page 305, we recommend to readers a glance at the annual report of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and

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Company. Sales of the colossus of the chemical world reached a new high last year, and profits were commensurate. Du Pont boasts that the index of sales prices of its products is unchanged from the 1939 level despite a 64 per cent rise in material costs and a 57 per cent increase in average hour wages. Nevertheless, it is able to show a net operating profit before federal taxes of 22 cents on the sales dollar—a figure that suggests a decline in unit costs compared to pre-war times that might well be reflected in lower prices.

The Lewis Case

THE Supreme Court's majority decision upholding the conviction of John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers for contempt of court has inevitably revived Mr. Dooley's gibe about the court following the election returns. In our view this is too simple and cynical an interpretation and one that fails to explain why some of the most liberal justices were in the majority, while some of the more conservative supported the defendants' case in whole or in part. The fact is that both the legal and social issues involved were extremely complex, leaving plenty of room for honest differences of opinion.

Here are the major questions which the court was required to answer:

1. Was the government barred by the Clayton and Norris-LaGuardia acts from seeking an injunction in a labor dispute? Five justices—Vinson, Black, Reed, Douglas, and Burton—argued that it was not, after combing the records to discover what was the intent of Congress. But such questions of intent are nearly always debatable and other justices were able to argue with equal cogency that Congress had not meant to leave in the hands of government a legal weapon whose use it was denying to private employers. On this point we are inclined to agree with the minority, especially as the Smith-Connally act, while providing for government seizure of struck properties, specifically omitted, as Justice Rutledge pointed out, "resort to injunctive relief."

2. Assuming that the Norris-LaGuardia act does not apply to the government, was the government in fact the employer of the coal-miners? The defendants claimed it was not since the benefits and liabilities of ownership continued to accrue to private persons. However, the United Mine Workers had, in fact, signed a contract with Secretary Krug, who represented the government, providing the miners with substantial improvements in conditions. It was therefore in a contractual employee-employer relation with the government.

3. Had the District Court the right to issue a restraining order to secure the status quo pending determination of its authority to act on the government's application for an injunction? Justices Rutledge and Murphy claim that such an order was jurisdictionally invalid and hence its violation was not sufficient cause for sustaining the conviction for contempt. On this point, however, we feel that Justice Frankfurter was right in declaring: "When in a real controversy, such as is now here, an appeal is made to law, the issue must not be left to the personal judgment of one of the parties." It was in attempting to set himself above the courts that Lewis made his fatal error. By ignoring the initial restraining order he in effect delivered himself and his union into the hands of the government, which was able to contend that, regardless of the applicability of the Norris-LaGuardia act, the defendants were in contempt.

In view of Lewis's behavior it is difficult not to agree with the seven justices who upheld the conviction while reducing the fine imposed on the United Mine Workers by Judge Goldsborough. But the issues at stake are bigger than Mr. Lewis, and the decision has implications which have led some commentators—Max Lerner in *PM*, for example—to talk of "labor's Dred Scott case."

We think this may prove to be too tragic a view. Nevertheless the danger, suggested by Justice Murphy in his dissenting opinion, that government seizure of plants and facilities may be used "as a subterfuge for breaking any and all strikes in private industries" cannot be altogether ignored. In Washington, as in Moscow and Albany, the doctrine that public servants cannot be allowed to strike under any circumstances is acquiring the force of dogma. And if this doctrine were to be regularly enforced by injunction on unions whose members had theoretically become government employees through use of the seizure power, the rights of labor certainly would be drastically reduced.

However, the power of seizure rests on the War Labor Disputes Act, which expires July 1. Will Congress reenact it in permanent form, as the President is said to desire and as some influential papers suggest? That seems to us improbable, if only because most employers recognize that it would lead to the socialization of labor relations and, in the not so long run, to the socialization of key industries too. For the government cannot undertake to bail out industries which fail to come to terms with their workers unless it is prepared to negotiate labor contracts and enforce them on both sides. At the very least, the seizure technique means compulsory arbitration, which management likes as little as the unions. We suspect, therefore, that business men will oppose renewal of the War Labor Disputes Act in any form while continuing to press for debilitation of the Wagner act, a ban on the closed shop, and prohibition of industry-wide bargaining. It is such measures, rather than government by injunction, which are still the greatest danger facing labor.

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Andrei Contra Mundum

IF ANDREI GROMYKO does not receive the N. A. M.'s free-enterprise medal it is only because the custodians of that august body's destinies are not following the current debates on atomic energy in the U. N. Security Council. For last Wednesday old pokerface lashed out in a vicious attack on the central thesis of the American plan, the proposal that the United States abandon its present private monopoly of the world's greatest source of power and place it in the safekeeping of a public international body. Senator McKellar has already taken his stand against this astonishing concept that challenges the basic tenets of American capitalism—"I pray God we will never have the agreement." Other Senators, standing guard over our sacred cows, will soon be alerted to repel the enemy. It is ironical to hear Soviet representative Gromyko so convincingly sounding the alarm.

The first and last sections of Gromyko's speech added little to his former contributions on the subject. Russia wants first of all a convention outlawing atomic weapons; Russia wants finally the control system set up within the authority of the Security Council and subject to its veto. But the new attack was squarely aimed at the powers of the Atomic Development Authority, which constitutes the very heart and guts of the American proposal. Mr. Gromyko left little unsaid in his criticism. Asserting at the outset that the Soviet Union would yield to no state in its insistence that "strict international control and inspection should be established," he proceeded to chisel away at the scheme that has been under consideration for nine months until nothing was left but a frail and shaky skeleton through which the tempests of international discord blew with chilling blast. The Baruch plan represented "the desire of one country to impose its will in questions of atomic control on other countries regardless of their legitimate interests." Brushing aside the Atomic Energy Commission's proviso that "there should be as little interference as may be with the economic plans and present private, corporate relationships in the several countries involved," Gromyko insisted that the ADA's "unlimited" powers of inspection would mean "a crude interference in the internal affairs of states." Handing over the ownership and management of atomic-energy installations to the ADA would result in a gigantic world cartel under American dominance, hogtying the economic life of the nations of the world and particularly that of the Soviet Union. "Only people who have lost the sense of reality can seriously believe in the possibility of creating such arrangements."

And that was that. No wonder gloom hangs low over Lake Success and some cynics are beginning to wonder when the Sperry plant will revert to its former functions.

Now, there are two aspects of Mr. Gromyko's attack that are worth considering. In the first place, in building his case he made great use of a statement issued by the Council of British Atomic Scientists on January 20, 1947. This statement was a frank attempt to bring together the American and the Russian positions. It admitted that certain measures in the Baruch plan "may be construed as maintaining the dominance of the United States in the field of atomic energy." It agreed that a convention outlawing atomic weapons might be a good thing. It suggested that limitations on the powers of inspection of the ADA might usefully be defined. It had several proposals for freeing scientific research and promoting the peaceful application of nuclear discoveries. But it also stressed—stressed with such firmness that Mr. Gromyko could not possibly have overlooked it—that in the scientists' opinion the Atomic Development Authority had to have full powers of ownership and management over nuclear fuel installation. It is worth while quoting one paragraph in the British statement in full on this point:

> An alternative and less ambitious suggestion is to limit the function of ADA to the inspection of plants and control over the distribution of products. In this connection we are impressed with the strength of the case made in the Lilienthal report for giving to ADA positive responsibility for production and ownership and with the difficulties outlined there of maintaining an effective inspection under any conditions. There is considerable doubt as to whether a control scheme not containing this feature would offer sufficient security.

In the second place, as late as February 18 Mr. Gromyko himself seemed to be inclined to this position, for on that date, in an amendment to the interim report of the Atomic Energy Commission, he proposed that, immediately after an appropriate convention or conventions should be put into effect, "inspection, supervision, and management on the part of an international organ [be] applied in regard to all existing plants for the production of final atomic materials (nuclear fuel)."

What is significantly lacking in the latest Gromyko statement is a positive outline of the Russian concept of an international control and inspection scheme. By implication, what he appears to suggest is an arrangement that rests mainly on the good faith of the contracting powers —not only the benign intentions of the great powers but also the dubious good-will of Spain and Argentina. We cannot think that Russia, which of all nations would benefit least from the prolongation of the present armed truce, wishes to let matters rest here.

The next step is clearly to resume discussions within the Atomic Energy Commission. Russia will have the chance there of stating its case not only negatively but positively. We believe there is a common ground that can be found. And assuredly it is to no one's advantage to give up the search at this point.

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Must Politics Control Housing?

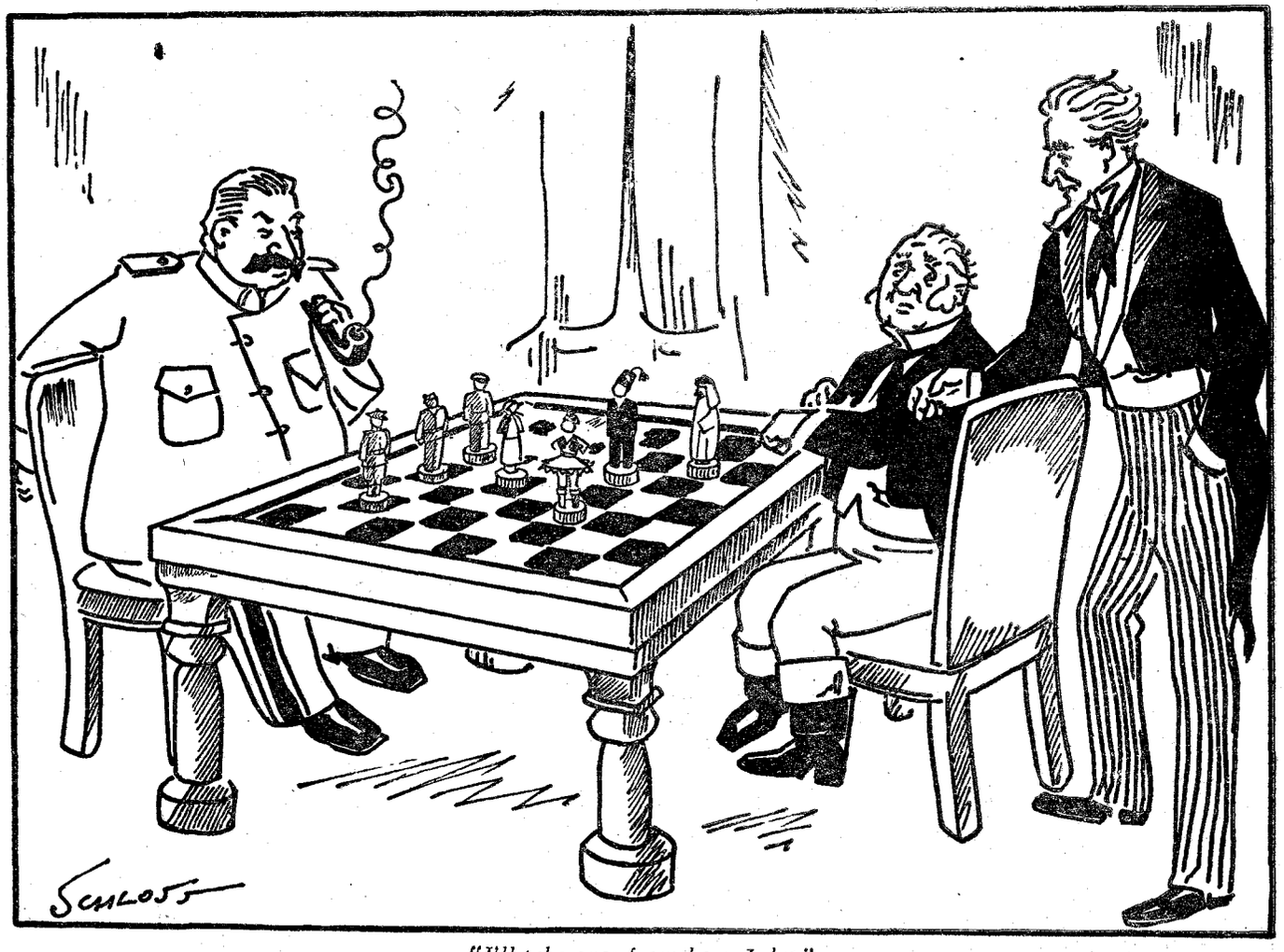
BY CHARLES ABRAMS

THE attempt by Mayor O'Dwyer to get control of the New York City Housing Authority, if it is successful, may deal a deathblow to the cause of decent housing in the United States.

The New York City Housing Authority was the first to function in the country, and the laws of forty states now follow its legislative formula. Eight hundred housing authorities operate under that formula today. It was fashioned on the principle that a local political body vested with the power of landlord over more than a third of a city's people should be above suspicion. The mayor who dominates a housing authority dominates the political destiny of a city. The power to select localities for slum clearance is the power to demolish blocks where hostile voters are too numerous and to re-tenant the section with persons who vote right. Giving away apartments to the underprivileged is a most effective way of gaining political support.

Public policy from the beginning has sought to erect buffers against political interference with housing by the local administration, although admitting that authority members must be sufficiently responsible to the city to enable the mayor to remove them for incompetence. The five members of the board set up in New York had staggered terms of office so that no one administration would control the whole membership. Another safeguard was that not more than one city official could be a member. This gave the city representation without the chance to dominate. A third safeguard was that members were to receive no compensation; appointments were intended to go to persons of established position rather than to political worthies. Money, according to the formula, was to be borrowed from private sources, and one of the main factors assuring the availability of private funds was the guaranty of freedom from political influence.

While an argument might be made for having a paid chairman, this item in the Mayor's proposal is irrelevant in the present controversy. The main issue is the Mayor's insistence that the housing authority is a municipal agency and should be under his control. But since housing concerns the general health and welfare, it is also a responsibility of the state and federal govern-



"I'll take over from here, John."

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ments. In fact, the subsidies paid by the federal government and the state of New York are larger than the subsidies so far contributed by the city. The authority is authorized to be a federal agent and has acted in that capacity in the building of war-housing projects. It is for this reason that it has been given independent powers—to borrow money, select its own counsel, condemn property, and issue bonds.

The Mayor desires to control the authority, first, because he believes that, as Mayor, he should bear the responsibility for housing, get the credit for the performance or take the blame for its failure; and, second, because he claims that the housing authority has not performed its functions properly. In the first regard, what does the Mayor's bill propose? It would end the present members' terms of office and give the present Mayor the right to appoint one member for six years, one for four years, and one for two; thereafter all terms would be for six years. This means that the present Mayor would control all the appointments during his own administration but that neither his successor nor any future mayor would be similarly privileged. The legislation amounts therefore to vesting power in the present Mayor without so changing the formula that future mayors would have similar responsibility.

As for the second contention on which the demand for legislation is based, namely, that the housing authority has not performed its functions properly, anyone who has read the record must conclude that this is simply not true. The New York City Housing Authority has turned in one of the finest performances in the history of public operations. Its construction costs compare favorably with private enterprise, an achievement in itself for a public body. The willingness of financial houses to provide funds at as little as 1.5 per cent a year when less than ten years ago no lender was willing to lend an authority money at any price attests to public confidence in the agency. It has kept free of politics—which is perhaps the main reason in some quarters for the present effort to scuttle it.

Moscow Overture

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, March 7

BY THE time this issue of *The Nation* reaches the bookstalls, readers will have undoubtedly read more than enough about Marshall's first words on landing at Moscow, Bevin's fur boots, Bidault's hat, and a variety of other items concerning this twentieth-century Congress of Vienna. *Le Congress s'amuse.* But one somehow doubts that there is going to be much real gaiety. For one thing, the setting is not very conducive to a happy-go-lucky blend of work and entertainment. The weather is awful. A blizzard has been raging for days, and March so far has been more winter-like than the earlier months of a relatively mild Moscow winter. Nearly everyone has a cold or the influenza. One or two of the Allied correspondents arrived wrapped in picturesque fur garments suitable for the Arctic; perhaps they were right in not banking on the early coming of spring, but the Russians thought their clothes were funny. Snow plows are now clearing the main streets of a non-stop accumulation of snow, but the sidewalks are still icebound and slippery, and delegates who want to go sightseeing on foot had better learn the characteristic Moscow "winter shuffle."

In the four main hotels—the Moskva, normally reserved for Russians, the Metropole, the National, and the Savoy, where mostly foreigners stay—there has been feverish activity by scores of painters, cleaners, paperhangers, electricians, and plumbers to make everything smart and comfortable for the delegates and incoming newspapermen. No doubt some of them will write plenty of dirt anyway about what they saw "behind the iron curtain" once the conference is over, but Moscow is nevertheless making an effort to smarten up and make a good impression. In the British, American, and French embassies, too, there has been much shifting of beds and office furniture, and five plane loads of State Department files are said to have been landed at the Moscow airfield yesterday, rather to the surprise of the Russians, who knew the conference would be complicated but did not think it would be quite so complicated as all that.

Moscow will have more foreign correspondents than ever before in its history. In addition to the resident correspondents there will be thirty-six Americans, twenty British, and a sprinkling of French and others. The Moscow telegraph promises to cope with all their copy adequately. But there is going to be a problem of transportation, for distances are great between the various places where the reporters will live and the ministers will meet, between where the ministers will live and the press conferences will be held; and in Moscow you don't just hop into a taxi.

What other countries apart from the Big Four will

ALEXANDER WERTH is special correspondent in Moscow for The Nation. *the Manchester* Guardian, *and the British Broadcasting Corporation.*

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send diplomats to Moscow nobody knows. In Prague, for example, they haven't the vaguest idea who will go to Moscow and when. "It is all a question of procedure," they say. Nor does anyone know to what extent or in what capacity the small powers will be associated with the conference. That will be one of the first things for the Foreign Ministers to settle, and it may take days before this and other procedural questions are decided. And then there will be all the rest to discuss and agree upon. "It will take a year," some Allied diplomats say resignedly. This conference, it is generally thought, will be only the opening phase, and delegates are already wondering whether stages two, three, four, etc., will take place in Moscow or somewhere else.

To the Russians it was important for political reasons that at least the first phase of the peace conference on Germany should be held here. Stalin will want to keep in closest touch with the conference's decisions, and the Soviet delegation, probably more than any other, will want to refer all major decisions to their government. Stalin's resignation of his post as Minister of the Armed Forces is widely considered an indication that he will devote even more time than hitherto to foreign affairs, which he clearly recognizes as Russia's chief problem. Those who interpret the move in this manner consider it a good sign, for Stalin has shown realism and flexibility in dealing with foreign countries, a gift for compromise, and a capacity for pouring oil on waters whenever these begin to be too troubled. On such occasions he has come out with emphatic statements to the effect that ideological differences must not interfere with the practical unity among the Big Four so necessary for building the post-war world.

The Russians are certainly most anxious to make the conference a success; a breakdown would be a calamity that no one cares to think about. No doubt there will be plenty of difficult moments, and the press abroad will from time to time have banner headlines announcing an imminent breakdown. But the Russians are confident that this will not happen. The settlement of the German problem is vitally important to Russia, though as one Russian soldier remarked to me the other day, "It isn't everything. Maybe our average citizen isn't very Far East conscious, but we aren't forgetting that after Germany there's still Japan, and we don't like the way things have been shaping up there."

One has the impression that on the eve of the conference the Russians are anxious to be reasonable and frank on a great number of questions. Take the former Japanese Pacific islands, for example. Better still, take the new agreement with Poland, which seems to say: Here's your answer Mr. Acheson. Would an aggressive, expanding Russia calmly make all these concessions to Poland, cutting down by half Poland's coal deliveries and above all letting the Poles put the Krakow-Kattowice-Przemysl railway back on European gauge when Russian gauge would be so valuable to an aggressive, expanding Russia? The agreement with Poland will greatly heighten the prestige and authority of the Polish government both inside and outside Poland, and will tend to cancel out much of the criticism that has piled up abroad in connection with the Polish elections. Clearly the agreement is not just for the moral effect. It presupposes continued, close cooperation between the two countries and the fullest Russian support to Poland on the question of Poland's western border.

But the main question at the conference will still be Germany, and while on a number of points the Russians have not yet stated their position clearly—to what extent, for example, will they support the latest French scheme for the Ruhr?—it is interesting that in the last few weeks numerous serious articles and official pronouncements, notably Marshal Sokolovsky's, have concentrated on the state of affairs in western Germany. Without dwelling on the reasons which led to the economic fusion of the British and American zones, the Russians see in this fusion a danger signal. The spectacular charges are sufficiently familiar to need no repeating here: that Anglo-American capitalism is so eager to turn western Germany into an industrial citadel for the Western European economic bloc that it is resuscitating German capitalist trusts, combines, and cartels and taking little or no notice of the problems of democratization and denazification. In all this scheming to make Germany a capitalist country largely dominated by American capital—to which the British seem resigned—the Russians allege that the demilitarization goal is being pushed into the background.

Generally in the Soviet press no clear distinction is made in this matter between the British and the Americans, but a question which is greatly interesting the Russians is this: To what extent, if at all, have the British got an independent policy—independent of America? Do the British want nationalization of the Ruhr industries; do they want a democratic or at least a Social Democratic Germany? And if they want it, will they press for it or do as America tells them? In other words, the question whether Britain is evolving a policy of its own is considered an extremely important one, to which the conference should give an answer.

There have been indications of a tentative rapprochement with England—first, the Bevin-Stalin exchange of messages with a view to revising the Anglo-Soviet alliance, then the three columns a day for two days running given to Bevin's speech in the Russian press, together with a full presentation of the British case in Palestine. It is felt here that certain American ideas—for example, those of Dulles on western Germany—are not entirely palatable to Labor England, and it is hoped that some common ground may be found with England for the

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settlement of the German problem. Incidentally, the British fuel crisis, although it has been given little space in the Russian press, has not been dismissed simply as one of those messes into which capitalist countries always get themselves but has been regarded as an indication that England, far from being tied to America in all things, is on the contrary sharing many of Europe's economic troubles.

England's position in relation to America and "England's choice" between Big Two and Big Three or Big Four policies is engaging a great deal of the attention of Russian political observers. This question has begun to interest them particularly since the last American election. For example, in the last issue of the Russian Academy of Science's serious political monthly, *World Politics and Economy*, three long articles, taking up more than half of the issue, were devoted to various aspects of future Anglo-American relations. One main subject of discussion in these articles was the extent to which England is dependent on America and the extent to which it is a political and economic rival of America. Will England and America always be on the same side of the fence? Probably not. And where does France come in?

Altogether the pattern of this conference is likely to be a good deal more complicated and interesting than the pattern of the 1946 discussions.

As a Frenchman Sees Us

BY BERTRAND DE LA SALLE

WHEN I arrived in the United States, the question of Franco-American relations was uppermost in my mind. On this subject my visit has been most enlightening, enabling me to revise a mistaken impression. Before I came I believed that Americans had lost much of their traditional sympathy for France. The official policy of this country since the war seemed to reflect a growing indifference to our needs and even to our opinions on international problems.

It was during my tour of the Middle West that I came to appreciate the abiding quality of American friendship for France; New York and Washington are too cosmopolitan to serve as a gauge of American feeling. Frenchmen often suspect the Middle West of isolationism, but from what I was able to observe, its isolationist days are over. Many Midwesterners manifest an almost sentimental friendship for France.

I could not help wondering why the American people's sympathy for France finds so little expression in official policy. Millions of Americans are contributing generously through private channels to the reconstruction of our devastated cities, but when the French government applies for a loan from the United States, it receives barely a fraction of what is needed to set France on its feet again. I came to the conclusion that public opinion has not much influence on American foreign policy. Domestic policy is closely geared to public opinion; the average citizen feels that his views play a role in determining the conduct of public affairs. But international relations are carried on over his head.

Most Americans believe it is enough to have repudiated isolationism. They do not seem to realize that in coming out from isolationism they have entered the world community and must now grapple with world problems, choose between different solutions, weigh opposing policies. If they do realize it, their tendency is to say, "Well, that's what we have a government for." The people show a docility about foreign policy that one would never find, I think, among the French or even the English.

By tradition and temperament Americans seem to me anti-imperialist and inclined to regard with suspicion the colonial empires of France and Britain. Their response to events abroad is defensive, even though the United States has emerged from the war as the dominant world power. The rest of the world, however, clearly sees that America's line of defense is now far outside its borders. One might even say that the new eastern frontier of the United States is at the Dardanelles. In point of fact, boundary lines have lost their importance: disorder in any part of the world has immediate repercussions in Washington.

America's problem today is the same that has preoccupied England and France since the sixteenth century—to keep the trade routes open. Freedom of the seas, a freedom guaranteed by the British fleet, was a vital factor in the development of the country. Freedom of the skies must now be established. The United States produces and operates more planes than any other nation; it must be assured that they can land in friendly territory. This depends not on the open ports and commercial agreements that made England and France colonial powers but on acceptance of the idea of "one world" and collective security. That idea can never be made a fact unless the United States becomes its guarantor.

At present I feel there is a danger that the American

BERTRAND DE LA SALLE is a French lawyer and writer who has been lecturing in the United States.

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crusade for "one world" may be deflected from its course. One world must be based on those universally valid civilized ideas which should be common to all humanity. It cannot and should not be an American world; it would be absurd to expect Russians or Moslems to behave like Americans. Yet people in the United States tend to think that the economic system which created their prosperity is an integral part of civilization, as indispensable as guaranties of individual liberty.

I was astonished to discover how passionately Americans of all social strata still uphold the capitalist system. Theirs is the unquestioning, almost religious faith that might have characterized a disciple of Adam Smith at the turn of the nineteenth century. But perhaps an even more astonishing thing was my own astonishment. Twenty years ago a young Frenchman just out of the Ecole des Sciences Politiques would hardly have been surprised to discover this attitude among Americans. It is we Europeans who have changed.

All this was made very plain to me by the election campaign. For years Europeans have been accustomed to think of America as the country of Roosevelt and the New Deal. But the America to which I came was campaigning vigorously for a return to the laissez faire doctrine of the Manchester School. Not many people in Europe imagine they can rebuild their country by applying the comfortable theory of laissez faire. I could not but reflect that the rich Americans are indulging a whim, buying a luxury item, as it were. Yet one man said to me, "How can you French afford the luxury of socialism when you are all but bankrupt?" And another remarked, "At least in France you are sensible enough to tolerate the black market, which is a free market; the English are too shortsighted to allow even that."

Despite their apparent confidence, however, the Americans are obsessed by the fear of another economic crisis. I understand their uneasiness, for should a depression come, they would lose not only their life savings but, more important, their faith. They would have less cause for fear if they did not associate the concepts of democracy and capitalism. Americans think that any blow to capitalism is a blow to democracy; while in Western Europe it is thought that democratic principles can be upheld whatever economic system is adopted.

I have never been able to accept the Marxist theory that a country's economic system determines its form of government and its culture. That is why I regret to see the United States try to make friendly peoples conform to its own economic beliefs. I don't think that we shall ever achieve the goal of one world by insisting that it be a capitalist world. Nor do I think that the existence of diverse economic regimes is an obstacle to the building of a peaceful, unified world, provided the great principles of civilization are respected.

How Deep Is Britain's Crisis?

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, March 1

WHAT the British people wanted is not in doubt. They wanted a plan, a blueprint for action, a set of clear, decisive orders for Operation Crisis. What they have got, in the eagerly awaited White Paper issued last week-end, is a masterly analysis of the situation couched in language more appropriate for readers of the *Economist* than for the man in the street and ending with a list of goals whose attainment, so far as governmental policy is concerned, is left largely a matter of pious aspiration. On certain assumptions, it is argued, catastrophe can be avoided. Some things are essential; many are desirable. Action to pursue the objectives set is to be promoted by conferences between Ministers and the representatives of employers and employed in all the main industries—a procedure followed last spring with significantly meager results. But for the moment all that the government has done is to present a framework within which, it is hoped, a Benthamite nation supposedly intent on self-preservation is expected to respond to the spur of hard, not to say menacing, facts.

Is the framework itself realistic? The key to the crisis is, by general consent, Britain's balance of foreign payments. In 1947, it is estimated, there will have to be an increase of £350,000,000 in the cost of imports, for which foreign exchange must be found. Since last year's imports were barely 70 per cent of the 1938 volume, and since we ran down our inventories of raw materials to the tune of at least £60,000,000, this estimate is almost certainly conservative—especially as (according to the White Paper) no steps are to be taken to restrict the intake of tobacco, petroleum products, or consumers' goods. Indeed, the figure of £60,000,000 provided for the purchase of machinery and equipment (including ships) from abroad seems very small if suffi-

AYLMER VALLANCE is The Nation's *London correspondent and one of its staff contributors.*

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cient headway is to be made in the essential retooling of British industry. It will surely be necessary to increase this sum.

Let it be assumed, however, that outgoings on account of imports will in fact not exceed the £1,450,000,000 postulated. The other large item calling for foreign exchange is net government expenditure abroad. This, it is forecast, will fall from £300,000,000 in 1946 to £175,000,000 in 1947. How this reduction is to be effected when the White Paper on Defense, published ten days ago, provides for a relatively insignificant reduction in the strength of the armed forces is not made clear, and seems to contain a large element of wishful thinking. Equally optimistic is the forecast that the value of exports and reexports will rise to £1,200,000,000 in 1947, as compared with £900,000,000 in 1946, and that there will be an increase of £25,000,000 in "invisible" net receipts from abroad. The effects of the present paralysis of industry caused by the disruption of the electricity supply are bound to extend over several months and to limit seriously delivery of goods for export. Outside government circles the opinion is general that we shall do well in 1947 if we succeed in maintaining the rate of exports reached in the last quarter of 1946; that would give a figure for 1947 which would be about £100,000,000 less than the rate predicted by the White Paper.

The arithmetic can be summed up in the following table, which gives the realized results for 1946 and two sets of estimates for 1947—A and B. A is the estimate of the White Paper; B is a more pessimistic but probably not less realistic estimate.

	£ *Millions*		
	1946	1947	
		A	B
Outgoings			
Imports	1,100	1,450	1,450
Government expenditure abroad (net)	300	175	250
Total	1,400	1,625	1,700
Income			
Exports and reexports	900	1,200	1,100
"Invisibles"	50	75	50
Total	950	1,275	1,150
Deficit	450	350	550

The difference between estimates A and B is that in the one case there is a deficit of £350,000,000 in the balance of foreign payments and in the other a deficit of £550,000,000. In both cases the figure underestimates the amounts which will have to be drawn on the United States and Canadian dollar loans, since, apart from the added strain which "convertibility" will impose on sterling next July, the direction of Britain's post-war foreign trade is resulting in a disproportionately large unfavorable balance with the "hard-currency" countries. On the basis of the White Paper estimates, our dollar credits may last until the summer of 1948. If less optimistic forecasts are accepted, the exhaustion point will be in sight at the end of this year.

This being the diagnosis, the treatment prescribed is sadly lacking in precision. The cure is naturally seen to lie in increased production, particularly in the basic industries—coal, electric power, steel, transport, and agriculture. The coal industry is asked to produce in 1947 a total of 200,000,000 tons of coal, deep-mined and open-cast; and to make this possible it is hoped that by the end of the year the mining labor force will rise from 695,000 to 730,000. To promote this increase, underground miners will be exempt from conscription for the next five years, and the White Paper refers to the possibility of securing, after training, the employment of some Polish and other foreign labor. But is this coal target high enough? To insure against the danger of repetition of this winter's disaster we shall have to set aside for inventories at least 12,000,000 tons of coal next summer—three times last year's rate of seasonal accumulation. It seems doubtful, therefore, whether the postulated increase in coal output will be sufficient to sustain full employment in coal-consuming industries unless there is not merely a drastic rationing of domestic consumption of fuel and power but also the enforcement of a ruthless system of priorities in favor of essential and against luxury and non-essential industry.

How drastically the government intends to act in this direction no one yet knows; nor is it clear how the hoped-for increase of production in other basic industries is to be obtained without direction of labor—a policy which the government explicitly discards. On the assumption that there will be some intake (no figure is specified) of foreign workers, that some women can be induced (by means again unspecified) to enter or reenter industry, and that the figure of unemployment can be kept down throughout the year to 400,000, it is hoped that in the course of 1947 the numbers in civilian employment will rise from 18,100,000 to 18,400,000; but it is admitted that this increase is likely to be spread over a wide range of occupations, essential and unessential. Moreover, in notoriously undermanned industries such as textiles, where an increase of 70,000 is postulated, no hint is given as to the means whereby this additional labor is to be recruited. There is no clear-cut wage policy that will attract workers, no precise plan for incentives.

The White Paper, in short, suffers from one fundamental defect—the absence of priorities. Defense is not to be neglected—"the fruits of the war must not be jettisoned"; and so we are to carry 1,600,000 men and women in the armed forces and in munitions. Social well-being must not be jeopardized; so we are to con-

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tinue, if timber supplies allow, our program of domestic house-building, we are to raise the school-leaving age, and we are to import not merely enough food but sufficient tobacco, films, and marginal luxuries to keep up the public morale. Finally, at one and the same time we are asked to recognize that on a long-term view disaster stares us in the face unless the immense arrears of reequipment in industry and transport are made good. In what order of importance does the government place its three objectives? The White Paper will be searched in vain for a precise answer. But that reequipment is not given a high priority must, I fear, be inferred not only from the small part played by machinery in the coming year's import program but from the fact that the proposed allocation of our resources for industrial maintenance and retooling is put only 15 per cent higher than in a normal pre-war year. It looks, in fact, as if reequipment has been relegated to the position of a residual item after what are conceived to be the minimum demands of defense, consumption, and social betterment have been met.

"In our determination to avoid the waste of unemployment, we must not destroy the essential flexibility of our economic life." In this magisterial sentence the White Paper admits that it has found no solution to the problem which has faced the Labor government ever since it took office—how to carry out effective planning without measures of compulsion repugnant to its conception of political democracy. Over the four-fifths of British industry which is still controlled by private enterprise it has little power: it can exhort but it cannot command; and if it decides that it cannot secure more intensive effort by labor without imposing, through special taxes or a "stop" on profits, equal sacrifices on the capitalist, then the whole "flexibility" of private enterprise may be destroyed.

There is no question now of the British people underestimating the gravity of the situation in which the country is placed. The present stoppage of production due to a month of arctic weather and the depletion of coal stocks has brought home strikingly to the man in the street the cold, hard fact that full employment cannot be obtained by acts of Parliament or by "cheap money" but is dependent ultimately on physical resources. The White Paper has made it painfully clear that unless we can put our balance of payments into better shape during the next twelve months, there is likely to be a physical shortage not only of food but of raw materials to keep the factory wheels turning. What the public has learned from the White Paper is the alarming extent to which Britain is "over-committed"—in foreign policy, in consumption of basic coal and steel, and in the pursuit of social welfare. What it wanted was to be told quite simply how its coat must be cut to fit the cloth, and how the cloth itself can be stretched. To neither of those questions has it been given a very clear answer.

The German Cartels and AMG

BY GEORGE LOBBENBERG

OUT of the haze of argumentation and speculation which has obscured American economic policy in Germany for the past twenty months a pattern familiar to observers of the American scene is gradually emerging. Our administrators in Berlin, unwilling to face the fact that a socialization program cannot be coordinated with the stimulation of free enterprise, are trying piously to reconcile the principles of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act with the practice of making billion-dollar loans to German industry. This curious gap between theory and reality is simply a reflection of the situation in the United States, where we have on the one hand a few large corporations dominating key fields in industry and finance and on the other a set of laws, as well as the necessary administrators in Washington, which are supposed to see that a few large corporations do not dominate these fields.

In conformity with the pattern, we have put at the head of our Berlin Economics Division a business man whose principal aim is to get the German industrial machine in working order as soon as possible. Brigadier General William H. Draper describes himself in "Who's Who" as an "investment banker and army officer." He began his banking career with the National City Bank, later became assistant treasurer of the Bankers' Trust Company of New York, and in 1927 joined Dillon, Read and Company. Ten years later he was made a vice-president of that firm. Since 1940 General Draper has been on leave of absence for duty with the army's General Staff. (It is interesting to recall that Dillon, Read acted as principal underwriter for the bonds floated in

GEORGE LOBBENBERG, after serving with the Third Army in Normandy and the Rhineland, spent eighteen months investigating I. G. Farben and the Ruhr steel industries. He is now in business in New York and writing on current economic subjects.

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the United States by the Vereinigte Stahlwerke Aktiengesellschaft of Düsseldorf, Germany's and Europe's largest steel trust. From 1925 to 1928 Vereinigte Stahlwerke and its subsidiaries obtained loans here amounting to $122,815,000. This money was used to modernize and expand the Ruhr industries in preparation for a German rearmament program which started full operation in 1933—the year the bonds defaulted in New York, on orders of a German Nazi government financed with Ruhr money.)

Caricature by Seligson
General Draper

But while the appointment of General Draper served our practical purposes, we had to make obeisance, too, to the anti-trust ideas that have been ingrained in American economic thought since the 1890's. In consequence we also sent to Germany a group of trust-busters and cartel investigators, being careful, however, to subordinate them to the business man and general in charge of the Economics Division. This second group is headed by James S. Martin, chief proponent of the much-debated decartelization law which was simultaneously proclaimed, in versions differing slightly in content, in the American and British zones in the middle of February. Martin, an energetic and hard-working former professor of economics, took over the remains of the once proud Division of Investigation of Cartels and External Assets, which was shorn of most of its powers after the Treasury's defeat in a clash with the War and State departments over German policy in 1945. Today Martin's section is only one of many in General Draper's division.

This arrangement would have done no serious harm—except the loss of face which such legal and economic shenanigans cause Americans to suffer in the eyes of pragmatic Europeans—had it not been for two circumstances. The first was the catastrophic economic situation of post-war Germany, which was aggravated by the creation of new zonal borders and by the absence of a strong, centralized governmental system. The second was the continuing conflict with representatives of the three other occupying powers caused by the divergent economic theories which our administrators tried to apply in Germany. In meetings of the Allied Control Council and other inter-Allied bodies the British, French, and Russian negotiators soon realized that while one group of Americans demanded the destruction of German trusts and cartels—which, by the way, are not at all the same thing—another group sought the best means of reviving them, wanting above all else to put German industry back on its feet.

It should not be forgotten that while we "dissolved" the huge I. G. Farben combine even before the proclamation of the decartelization law, the company still exists in its component parts, which are, of course, scattered through the four zones. To illustrate this in a somewhat simplified manner, we said in effect to the Interessengemeinschaft Farbenindustrie A. G. in the American zone: "Henceforward you will be four companies—Interessen A. G.; Gemeinschaft, Inc.; Farben Corporation; and Industrie, Ltd. Now go ahead and compete like good boys!" Under the pressure of public opinion in the United States and Allied countries we purged the Nazi directors and managers, but we still overlooked the basic fact that I. G. was in the main a vertically integrated trust, with each group of companies geared to mesh its operations with those of another group. Since such integration is absolutely essential for production under the post-war economic conditions of Germany and Europe, the remaining I. G. firms will have to continue de facto coordination, though de jure, of course, they are no longer a group, at least as long as the law remains in its present form.

In the New York *Herald Tribune* of last January 2 the Alsops asserted that General Draper realized this need for planned industrial coordination. "German poverty," they said, "is such that German reconstruction cannot be accomplished without what amounts to bold socialistic planning. On this all who know the facts are agreed, including Clay's brilliant economic adviser, Brigadier General William Draper, a former partner in the decidedly non-socialist banking house of Dillon, Read." Yet Generals Clay and Draper are among the foremost proponents of the plan of the Anglo-American Economic Board to pour almost three billion dollars' worth of raw materials and supplies into Germany in order to make the country "self-sufficient." This plan, as reported by the New York *Times* of January 1 under the headline "U. S. and Britain to Prime Pump of German Industry," calls for the shipment of $1,042,000,000 worth of supplies to Germany in 1947 alone. German exports are expected to reach $350,000,000 this year. The *Times* report continued:

> These imports, whose costs will be advanced through loans by the occupying powers, are expected to be continued annually so that, by 1950, $2,952,000,000 will have been poured into German industry to put the merged zones on a self-sustaining basis. Since the profits from exports are immediately taken to pay for imports, the ultimate cost to the two powers at the end of that period is expected to be at least $1,025,000,000.

The plan has already received the blessing of Messrs. Dulles and Vandenberg and has been included in Mr. Hoover's first report on the German economic situation.

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It would seem to be a well-devised scheme—except that in figuring out the ultimate cost to the occupying powers it neglects to take into account the item of competing products. German exports are already offering some competition—in toys and cameras—to United States and British firms, and this will certainly increase in the future if the foregoing figures can be taken seriously. In an international sellers' market the effect of such competition on American and British home industries is negligible, but by 1950 key members of the National Association of Manufacturers may be surprised at the way their program of German reindustrialization is beginning to backfire in South American and European markets.

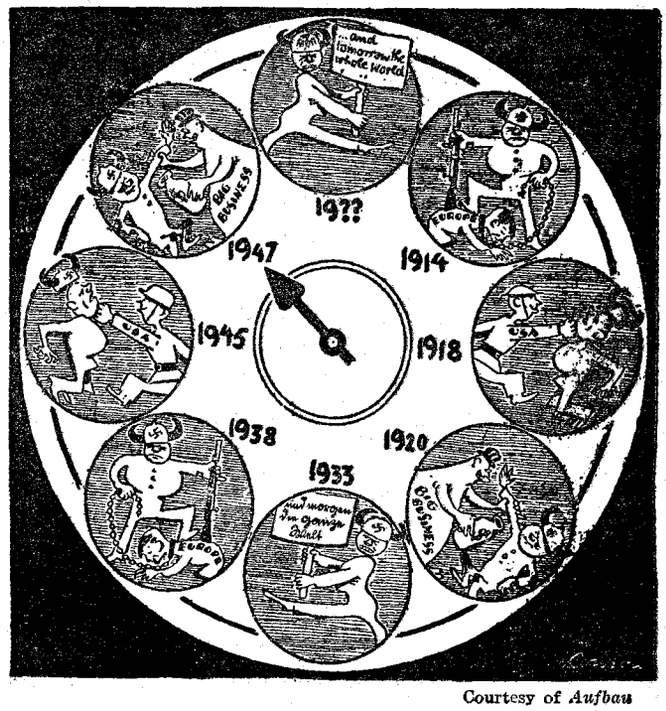
Neither the scheme itself, however, nor the recent proposal of Assistant Secretary of War Petersen that American banks participate in the refinancing of German industries would seem to bear out the Alsops' hopeful prophecy of "bold socialistic planning" under War Department sponsorship.

In the British zone also we find traces of economic double-talk. Foreign Minister Bevin has definitely committed the British government to the socialization of German heavy industry, that is, iron, coal, steel, and machinery, all of which have been placed under British controllers. Yet the former German coal and steel cartels have so far remained in full operation in the Ruhr, if under Military Government supervision. Being designed to coordinate production, price, and marketing policies, cartels form an ideal transition to industrial nationalization. Centralizing policy-making as they do, they provide the logical framework for the imposition of over-all controls.

But both Mr. Chambers, the head of the British Military Government's Finance Division, and his assistant, Colonel Kellam, shrewd and skilful counterpart of our own decartelizer, Mr. Martin, realize the repugnance of some Americans to the word "cartel." Therefore the simultaneous proclamation of the decartelization law in the United States and British zones came as no surprise to informed observers. As long as the machinery remains available for future use, neither Chambers nor Kellam considers it important whether it is called a cartel or a board—and if the American public is made happy by hearing that German cartels are now "smashed once and for all," so much the better.

As if in confirmation of these suspicions, J. K. Galbraith, an editor of *Fortune,* who until recently was in charge of the State Department's Division for Economic Affairs of Occupied Countries, wrote in *Fortune's* January issue that "German cartels and combines could again, with a little rejuvenation, assume their former positions of power." In anticipation apparently of Mr. Hoover's report he indicated that the American public will have to be prepared for a program of large-scale German industrial "rejuvenation," a program already being sold under the label of "pump-priming." *Fortune's* Ruhr report (December, 1946), which contained a remarkably frank analysis of United States foreign policy, noted that "two years ago anyone who predicted that the United States and Britain would be striving to rebuild the heart of industrial Germany would have had the Secret Service on his tail. Now there simply isn't any other course. . . . We must stay in Germany, attack the colossal task of watching and reforming, reconstruct currency, help rebuild, stimulate free enterprise, see that the country is fed more." Humane as this statement may be, it reveals with painful clarity the contradictions underlying the economic farce that has been going on in Germany for the past year and a half.

Advocates of the stimulation of free enterprise abroad seem to overlook one of the primary economic facts of life: that free competition is a very nice and desirable thing—provided a country is rich enough in resources, man-power, and capital to afford it. Thus while we may "advance" sufficient sums to Germany to start up certain "chosen-instrument" industrial firms, no commercial banker or government economist will ever be visionary enough to demand the refinancing of all the German companies that must be resuscitated in order to obtain a working competitive system. Pump-priming will inevitably result in the revival of the old German industrial combines, under one name or another. Only a policy of socialization of German industry can safely satisfy the urgent need for goods of Germany and Europe. Unless we adopt such a policy, we shall run the double risk of reviving a system that has been the backbone of German nationalism for over a hundred years and of reinstating many Nazi managers and industrialists in their former positions of power.



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Is Your Name Gonzales?

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, March 5

IN THE Westminster and El Modeno school districts of Orange County, California, there live about 5,000 persons of Mexican descent, most of them citizens of the United States. The children of these families are segregated in school, as are children of Mexican descent in most of the other school districts of "the citrus belt." In some localities segregation has been accomplished by a fancy gerrymandering of districts, but the more common practice has been simply to assign all children with Spanish or Mexican names to a separate school. Occasionally the school authorities inspect the children so that the offspring of a Mexican mother whose name may be O'Shaughnessy will not slip into the wrong school. The period of segregation has varied somewhat from district to district, but usually it extends from the first through the sixth or eighth grade.

Curiously enough, this practice has never been sanctioned by California law. The School Code authorizes separate schools for Indian children and children of Chinese, Japanese, or "Mongolian" parentage but is conspicuously silent on the subject of Negro and Mexican children. In fact, many years ago the Supreme Court of the state held that a local school board could not refuse admission to a Negro student.

On March 21, 1945, Judge Paul J. McCormick of the federal District Court handed down a notable decision in a suit brought by a number of Mexican American parents in Westminster challenging the constitutionality of segregation. Judge McCormick ruled that segregation of Mexican youngsters found no justification in the laws of California and, furthermore, was a clear denial of the "equal-protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. To the contention of the school authorities that Mexican children were segregated because of a language handicap, Judge McCormick replied that if these children were retarded in English it was because of the conditions under which they were taught. He went on to point out that segregation prevented children of Mexican descent from "deriving a common cultural attitude, . . . which is imperative for the perpetuation of American institutions and ideals," and tended "to foster antagonism" by suggesting an inferiority which in fact did not exist. The school districts promptly appealed the decision, and on December 10, 1946, the case was argued before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. If it finally reaches the United States Supreme Court, the decision may sound the death knell of Jim Crow in education.

For a number of reasons the Westminster case is a perfect one for testing the constitutionality of segregated schools. Although the school districts at first contended that Mexicans were a distinct, and by implication an "inferior," race, they finally felt obliged to say that race was not a factor in their policy. With the "racial issue" not directly involved, the court will be compelled to examine the social and educational consequences of segregated schools in a realistic manner.

The Westminster case was carefully prepared and ably tried. For perhaps the first time in a test case of this sort expert social scientists were called as witnesses. A number of distinguished anthropologists from the University of California completely demolished the "racial" argument, and nationally known educators exposed the fallacy of the "language handicap." Since the school districts elected to appeal on the judgment issue alone, Judge McCormick's finding as to the facts will have to be accepted. When the case reached the Circuit Court, the American Jewish Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Lawyers' Guild, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Japanese American Citizens' League promptly filed *amicus curiae* briefs, and Robert W. Kenny as Attorney General filed one in which he took the same position. Only a refusal by the school districts to appeal from an adverse decision by the Ninth Circuit Court or an extremely narrow interpretation of the issues in the Supreme Court can prevent this case from making judicial and social history.

The brief filed by the American Jewish Congress, which I understand was largely the work of the late Alexander H. Pekelis, is a brilliant and devastating analysis of the social effects and the unconstitutionality of segregation. Since the Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Plessy* vs. *Ferguson* (1896) the constitutionality of most segregation devices has rested upon the familiar "separate but equal" contention. This assumes, the brief points out, that the provision of identical physical facilities constitutes equality of treatment (not even these so-called identical facilities are ever really so). The American Jewish Congress has effectively scotched this

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor of The Nation, *is the author of a number of books on racial minorities in the United States.*

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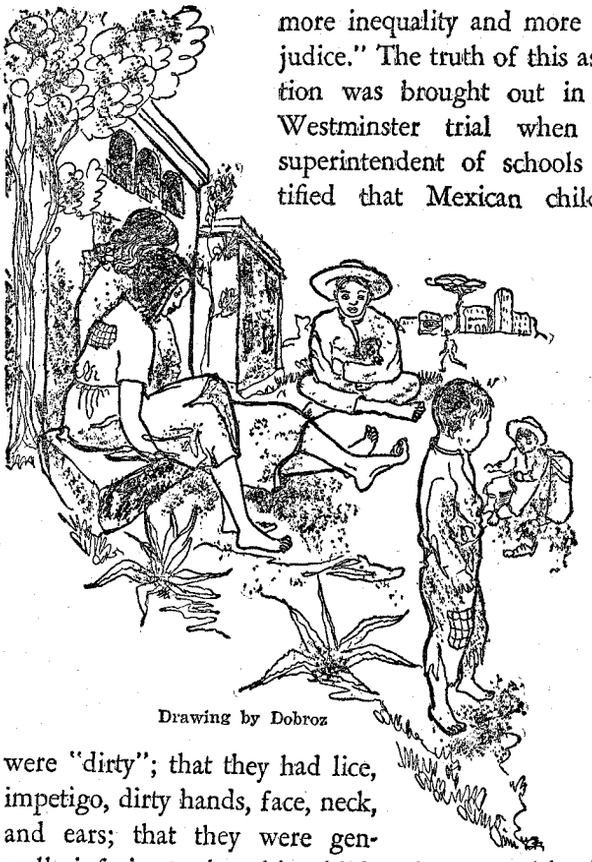
argument by asserting that equality is determined not by the physical identity of things or facilities furnished, but by the identity or substantial similarity of their *values*—in short, by the community judgment attached to them. There can be no question that the segregated school has a very low value in the eyes of the community.

The doctrine of segregation as developed in the Plessy case and similar decisions has also been supported by the assumption that "the law follows the *mores*," that, in the threadbare phrase, "since the law did not create the prejudice, it is powerless to correct it." The brief of the American Jewish Congress exposes this ancient but enduring fallacy. It shows that the actual chain of social causation is somewhat as follow: (a) a pre-existing social inequality finds (b) legislative or judicial declaration, which in turn leads (c) to the assignment of separate, and hence inferior, facilities. At this point the legal sanctions for segregation become not effects but causes. "When a more or less inarticulate social feeling of racial superiority," to quote from the brief, "is clothed with the dignity of an official law, that feeling acquires a concreteness and assertiveness which it did not possess before. The stricter the law or discriminatory segregation the stronger and the more articulate the feeling of social distance. And the stronger that feeling the stricter the law and the more difficult its amendment or repeal. In such setting the very roots of democratic processes are threatened, and no reliance can be placed on their correcting effect."

It is precisely this aspect of segregation that Justice Harlan condemned so vigorously in his memorable dissenting opinions in the Plessy and Civil Rights cases. It is also what Chief Justice Stone had in mind when he suggested that "legislation which restricts those political processes which can ordinarily be expected to bring about repeal of undesirable legislation" should be subjected to "a more exacting scrutiny under the general prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment than are most other types of legislation."

The rationalization that the law merely follows the *mores* and hence does not play a causative role in shaping social attitudes and relationships certainly relegates the law to a curiously degraded function in modern society. Presumably if the *mores* sanctioned head-hunting, the Supreme Court would still bow to local custom. This ostrich-like attitude on the part of the judiciary comes in for a sound lashing in the brief of the American Jewish Congress. "When . . . government officials follow the lowest level of community thinking, they betray their function of political leadership. Where prejudice is legalized, where bigotry is given official sanction, where prestige of law is lent to bias, there ignorance, narrow-mindedness, and hatred assert themselves openly and operate *as a right*. An official action based on a discriminatory classification breeds in turn more inequality and more prejudice." The truth of this assertion was brought out in the Westminster trial when the superintendent of schools testified that Mexican children



Drawing by Dobroz

were "dirty"; that they had lice, impetigo, dirty hands, face, neck, and ears; that they were generally inferior to the white children in personal hygiene.

The Supreme Court, if the Westminster case reaches it, will be asked to pass upon a question that is certain to be raised again and again in cases involving racial discrimination. Article 55-c of the United Nations Charter, ratified as a treaty by the Senate, provides that "the United Nations shall promote . . . universal respect for, and observance of, human rights, and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, and religion." The Act of Chapultepec, March 6, 1945, goes farther and provides that the nation signing the agreement shall "make every effort to prevent in their respective countries all acts which may provoke discrimination among individuals because of race or religion." Since treaty provisions prevail over inconsistent state enactments, declarations of this type are binding upon the states as well as upon the federal government.

The Westminster case has historical as well as social significance. In 1907 the Department of Justice at the request of Theodore Roosevelt filed suit in the federal courts of California to prevent the San Francisco school board from carrying into effect an ordinance requiring the segregation of Japanese students in the public schools of the city. The moment this suit was filed, the Southern bourbons in Congress were up in arms, for they recognized that if segregated schools could be proscribed in California, they could be proscribed in Mississippi. President Roosevelt's efforts were defeated at that time by a coalition of Western and Southern representatives in Congress. Today this coalition

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has been completely disrupted. A glance at the vote of Western Senators and Representatives on such measures as the poll tax and the FEPC will show that the West is nowadays asserting national leadership in the fight against discrimination. It is not surprising, therefore, that the case which gives promise of vindicating Justice Harlan's famous contention that "the Constitution is color-blind" should have arisen in California.

The Westminster case is but one of many current indications that the Mexican minority throughout the Southwest has begun to attain real social and political maturity. The suit was not "rigged," "inspired," or "promoted" by any cause committee. It was filed because rank-and-file citizens of Mexican descent in Southern California realized that they had long since "had enough."

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

LISTENERS who heard the Columbia Broadcasting System's production of "The Eagle's Brood" ten days ago and the same network's "Prelude to Moscow" on Sunday last, and who remember "The Empty Noose" broadcast of last October, may well wonder why CBS is sticking its neck out to do documentaries about such controversial—especially to radio—topics as domestic fascism, juvenile delinquency, and the background of the Moscow conference. These programs provide information so complete as to tend to mold listener opinion and reaction. And as almost everyone knows, the radio industry has not been notable for providing such leadership.

The explanation lies in the tall, thin, and immaculate Ed Murrow and the not so tall, or so thin, Bill Paley. Murrow is known as the war-time chief of bureau in Europe for CBS, the newscaster from London with the consistently liberal approach and the flair for the "little man's" side of the news. Paley is chairman of the board of CBS—the boss of the network.

While covering fascism in Europe, Murrow saw first hand how unprepared were the "little men" to cope with national problems. Paley got much the same view, during the war, in the radio section of the Psychological Warfare Division at SHAEF. In addition, both men had the opportunity to learn all about the fine documentary work being done by the British Broadcasting System. When Paley returned to CBS late in 1945, he began to crack the whip over its program operation. This he split into two sections: all programming except public affairs and news he placed under Davidson Taylor, who had been with Paley at SHAEF. To head the public-affairs and news section he brought Murrow back from London.

Given a free hand, Murrow set out to build a radio version of the documentary film. He wanted to get such an effect as Pare Lorentz, for one, got in "The River" and "The Plow That Broke the Plains." He also wanted to solve the distribution problem, which kept socially important documentaries from reaching mass audiences, and at the same time to avoid the regularly scheduled broadcast, with its looming deadlines and its inevitable stultifying of the most able writers and producers.

Documentaries, of course, were not new to radio. The "March of Time" broadcasts included much excellent commentary, though the problem presented was rarely solved for the listener. Norman Corwin did a fine documentary series, "People to People," until the weekly deadline broke his health. Indeed, radio aired so many documentary shows during the war that the industry in general has been coasting ever since. Murrow's documentary unit is different in using every trick in the kit-bag of commercial radio, plus a few that are beyond the ledger mentalities of sponsors.

There are no deadlines: writers, producers, and researchers take all the time they need. A mass audience is assured by the simple device of canceling popular night-time commercial programs and taking this time for the documentary. Impact is obtained through "big-name" players and the "dramatization" format. Quality is insured by the use of top-drawer writers and producers. And efficiency is constantly tested and checked by the devices of the research department. (As simple a factor as the title of a program is decided only after the slide-rule specialists have tried every tentative title on their listener panels.)

The canceling of a commercial immediately convinces affiliated stations that the program is important and that they should carry it—165 out of a possible 168 stations aired "The Eagle's Brood." Ample coverage is made doubly sure by the use of network promotion brochures and the simple trick of giving advance notice to the national officers of organizations interested in the problem to be treated. These organizations in turn advise their local branches, and the manager of the local station gets calls from listeners asking when the documentary in question is to be heard.

The cost to CBS of these programs is considerable, obviously. Production is not stinted, and in addition the sponsor of the canceled commercial must have his expenses refunded. But they make for what Ed Murrow calls "the right kind of radio journalism." In presenting them, radio, through CBS, reveals its awareness that it cannot escape responsibility by farming out the time to advertisers.

In the past radio has been like the printer—putting words on the air, as the printer sets them in type, for anyone that comes along. Now for the first time radio is taking over the functions of the publisher, exercising judgment on subject matter and treatment. In this business of reporting and analyzing the key issues of the day in the public interest, CBS is even going beyond the average newspaper publisher, for it is grinding no ax of its own.

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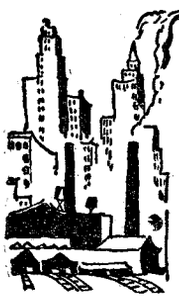

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Are Profits Too High?

LAST year the chroniclers of the chambers of commerce pictured Mr. American Business struggling like Christian in the Slough of Despond. Beset by Trade Union Demons, hindered at every step by Bureaucracy's Thorny Entanglements, stripped in the Robber's Cave of Internal Revenue, he seemed doomed to end in the fell clutches of Giant Despair. But now that the poor Pilgrim has reckoned the profits and losses of his 1946 wanderings, it appears that he did make Progress after all and is sitting very pretty on a Delectable Mountain of Profit.

The most complete evidence of this statement yet to hand is the March *Letter* of the National City Bank of New York. "Annual reports so far published for 1946," this excellent authority declares, "show that American business in the aggregate had a substantially higher net income than in 1945 . . . and that it realized returns on sales and net worth which made 1946 one of the better years in its checkered history." It was indeed. The 840 manufacturing corporations whose accounts are summarized by the bank earned an average return of 11.9 per cent on their net worth, a record surpassed in only two years since 1925. All but three of the twenty-three industrial groups for which particulars are given enjoyed higher profits than in 1945, the exceptions being agricultural implements—down 4.6 per cent; electrical equipment and radio—down 41.1 per cent; and transportation equipment—down 51 per cent. The following table shows results for other important industries:

Companies in Group	*Net Income After Taxes*	*Percentage of Increase over 1945*	*Percentage Return on Net Worth*
15 meat packing	$ 67,857,000	96.7	19.9
39 beverage	154,841,000	109.6	32.9
36 cotton goods	62,622,000	208.3	23.8
49 other textile	116,527,000	148.4	24.7
17 rubber products . . .	123,290,000	99.7	20.5
33 pulp and paper . . .	89,387,000	135.0	13.7
38 chemical	189,099,000	46.1	13.6
16 petroleum	76,334,000	19.0	9.8
30 iron and steel . . .	236,190,000	47.0	7.3

Profit figures such as these, however much pleasure they may afford to investors, are probably more than a little embarrassing to a good many corporation executives. Three months ago, when Robert Nathan presented the C. I. O. with his study of profit trends, it was possible—though not entirely wise—for his critics to suggest that he was guessing wildly. In the first six months of 1946 profits of leading corporations as reported by the National City Bank had been appreciably below those for the first half of 1945. For the first nine months, as the New York *Sun* happily pointed out on December 11, net income of 250 corporations was only one per cent higher than in the corresponding period of 1945. But Mr. Nathan had correctly gauged the strength of the rising tide, and in the final quarter of 1946 the incoming flood of profits brought the total for the twelve months high above the previous year's mark. There is every indication that this tide has not yet begun to recede.

With events tending to bear out Mr. Nathan's estimates, the apologists for big business have begun to hunt for alibis. In an editorial entitled Explaining Larger Profits, the *Journal of Commerce* of February 21 claimed that "currently reported profits . . . grossly exaggerate the true earning power of many businesses. Because of the 80 per cent rise in the commodity price level that has occurred, conventional accounting practices too often overstate profits." This statement hardly does justice to modern corporation accountancy, which tends to understate rather than overstate earnings. A great many companies, for instance, have adopted the "Lifo" (last in, first out) method of dealing with inventories, which largely eliminates speculative profits in times of rising material prices while guarding against losses in periods of recession. In addition it will be found that a great many corporations have set aside, out of profits, large reserves against a fall in prices.

Another commentator, Edward H. Collins, who writes a regular column for the New York *Times*, does not attempt to explain away high profits but seeks to justify them as self-evidently beneficial to the community. In support of his position he quotes the London *Economist*: "High profits and high wages are—inflation apart—both of them signs of high activity. They are at once the means to, and the product of, a high standard of living." Accepting the truth of this statement, does it follow that the greater the return earned by capital the greater the general prosperity? I suggest that it is very possible for profits to be too high both for the good of the community and for the good of business itself. According to the National City Bank, the highest average rate of return on net worth for leading corporations since 1925 was the 12.8 per cent scored in 1929. Was it just a coincidence that the greatest crash of all time followed immediately? Even conservative economists now admit that among the causes of that débâcle was the fact that the benefits of increasing productivity were not being adequately distributed in the form either of higher wages or lower prices and that consequently too large a share of the national income was accruing to the owners of capital.

There is danger, I think, that this mistake will be repeated in 1947 unless, as I suggested last week, business men take early steps to adjust prices, as they can well afford to do in view of the profit figures quoted above. In this opinion I appear to have the unexpected but welcome support of the International Harvester Company, which has just announced a series of price cuts estimated to save customers $20,000,000 a year. "We believe strongly," says Fowler McCormick, chairman of the company, "that the best way to distribute the gains of rising productivity is through lowering prices. We are cutting now, although there is every promise that we can sell everything we can make this year and next at present prices." This move parallels that made by Ford recently and is definitely in the right direction. But we have yet to see whether these two price cutters are lone pioneers or leaders of a procession along the highway to sustained prosperity.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Scientist and Society

EINSTEIN: HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By Philipp Frank. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.

THE recognition of the scientist is usually restricted to his social group. Great discoveries, particularly if they concern mathematical theories, remain unknown to the public even when they change the foundations of a science and supply the material of work for a generation of scientists. The public responds to practical applications, not to theoretical constructions. There are a few exceptions to this rule: for instance, the world hypothesis of Copernicus has stirred up the imagination of the intellectual world ever since its first publication. The scientific event of our time in the field of theoretical science was Einstein's discovery of the theory of relativity.

The analogy with Copernicus is more than a parallelism of public fame. Einstein's theory refers to the same subject matter as the doctrine of Copernicus; in fact, it discards Copernicus's theory as far as it is meant to represent a unique truth. What Copernicus claimed was to have disproved the conception of Ptolemy, according to which the earth is at rest and the celestial bodies in motion around it, and to have demonstrated the opposite conception, according to which the earth moves around the sun along with the other planets. Einstein showed that this absolutism is untenable, that both Ptolemy and Copernicus are right in what they assert but mistaken in what they attack. Motion is relative; it can only be described relative to a system of reference, and though a celestial motion described with respect to the earth as an immovable system of reference is of a rather involved nature, it is as real as a motion referred to the sun as an immovable center. Seldom has Hegel's and Marx's dialectical law found so striking a verification. The thesis of Ptolemy was refuted by the antithesis of Copernicus; Einstein's synthesis shows both thesis and antithesis to be of a limited validity and unites the truth of both conceptions on a higher level.

The author of the revolution on a higher level has found his biographer in Philipp Frank. No other writer could have been as competent for this task as Frank. Himself a theoretical physicist, he has followed the development of Einstein's theories from the early days when they were known only to a small group of experts; and his personal contacts with Einstein date from 1910, when Einstein, then professor in the University of Prague, recommended Frank as his successor to the chair of theoretical physics. Frank has always combined with his work in physics an interest in the philosophical aspects of this science, and has become a leading man in the field of philosophy of science.

Frank's book presents an account of Einstein's life within the frame of a description of the philosophical situation of physics. The older conceptions which led to the difficulties overcome by Einstein's theory are well presented, and in a form easily understandable to the layman. It would have been interesting to go from this historical background to a description of the implications of Einstein's theory for modern scientific philosophy; the theory of relativity is not in itself a philosophy, but requires a philosophical interpretation. While Frank criticizes successfully some of the wrong interpretations, he does not discuss the better ones, presumably because it would have made the book too technical.

The presentation of Einstein's life is an interesting one; many little anecdotes illustrate the account and help to convey a vivid picture of this great personality to the reader. One would have liked to know a little more about the early childhood of the genius, and furthermore, to have some psychological account of the origin of his discoveries. But that is hard to get, since the subject of the account has always been rather taciturn about the ways that led him to his discoveries.

Frank devotes much attention to the development which made the author of abstract theories a public figure. This part of the book is particularly well done. One begins to understand how it happened that a man whose intellectual life centered in mathematical theories was drawn into the focus of public attention and thus compelled to participate in public life. There is a tragedy in this development. His deeply rooted feeling of social responsibility induced Einstein to join many a group that fought for the right of the underprivileged classes, in particular the Zionist movement, while on the other hand the innate individualism of this great man deterred him from any more active association with political groups. The desire to be left alone, to have the time for intensive concentration on his work, has often torn Einstein away from associations which in the beginning he had the good-will to follow through. The interplay of these two tendencies, of the will to help others and the need for isolation, explains the discrepancy between his great achievements in the intellectual field and his sketchy and disrupted contributions in the political area.

This tension was made much greater when the implication of Einstein's theory led to a technical application of an unheard-of kind—to the construction of the atom bomb. The equivalence of mass and energy was an early result of the theory of relativity; that it might lead to technical applications was obvious from the beginning. That its first practical utilization was to be an atom bomb, however, was a tragic fate which nobody had imagined might befall the successor of Copernicus. The pacifist who had opposed war as the greatest social evil was compelled by social conditions to supply the most destructive weapon of warfare; and we learn from Frank's book that Einstein even took an active part in promoting the research that led to the construction of the bomb. The Nazis had concentrated on Einstein all their hatred of purely intellectual achievements; they had besmirched him with all the filth they were so capable of producing; they had attacked him as a Jew, as a liberal, and as the author of the greatest theoretical construction of modern physics. His answer

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was to induce the nations that fought the Nazis to develop a weapon which he knew the Nazis were looking for and which in their hands would have exterminated liberty all over the world. Logical as this answer is, it will forever be the symbol of the tragic conflict into which the scientist is drawn in a socially disorganized world.

Frank's book supplies an excellent account of all these developments; its analysis goes back to the time around 1920 when Einstein was attacked by a group of advocates of a "common-sense physics," who were unable to understand the theory of relativity and called it a logical absurdity. At the same time the leading scientists of the world had recognized Einstein's theory in all its significance; and during a trip around the world Einstein had the occasion to explain his ideas to the public and the men of science in various countries. Seen before this background, the personality of the man becomes particularly attractive; his natural kindness, his simplicity and modesty, the unpretentious style of his life constitute a striking contrast to the fame of his scientific ideas. Frank's book will be welcomed by all those who would like to read a complete account of the work and the life of a man who has been so much talked about and whose achievements so few understand.

HANS REICHENBACH

Uncle! Uncle!

THE RIME OF THE ANCIENT MARINER. By Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Illustrated by Alexander Calder. With an Essay by Robert Penn Warren. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.75.

HERE is a text of Coleridge's poem, a set of pictures which illustrate nothing so little as the text, a critical and scholarly essay on the poem by Mr. Warren of some twenty thousand words, and a set of notes to the essay. There is no index. The book is expensive.

It is a book full of shocks. The first is the dedicatory drawing, of Malcolm Cowley, amiable to the point of life, looking out of Mr. Calder's front window. Like a good visitor, Mr. Cowley shows no signs of wondering what he is doing there, and I suppose we ought not to wonder either, for we are visitors too; but just the same I suspect Mr. Cowley is really the Prodigal Son putting his best possible face on the discovery that he has returned to the wrong parents. Inside, he is crying, *Uncle! Uncle!*

This is very shocking, Mr. Calder's dedication of Coleridge to Mr. Cowley. The next shock is the wide-open big print of the poem where all the human figures, the three gallants, all the sailors, the pilot, the boy, the hermit, and the old fellow himself, are nudely naked, with a singular effect of being fresh out of the scrotum-tightening sea. The lonesome Spirit from the South Pole seems in this respect a little more at home in the water; but as to his companion daemons you cannot tell, for you see only their heads, which look like radiator-cap sculpture in 1934, or late exiles returning. The Albatross is in a hurry to be a sitting duck, and succeeds. The water-snakes are doing charades in honor of the Gila monster. Visually and in its ambience Coleridge's poem has become puerile; and puerility, when it comes at the end of a cycle, follows sterility. I do not know whether I make myself plain. Mr. Calder's art is all right when you can blow life or fun into it, but it can do nothing as wind harp to a great poem but be childish and driveling.

Drivel is always shocking; it is the breakdown of mature speech; but it is no more shocking than the stench of the dead horse which Mr. Warren drags over the first half of his fifty-seven-page essay, and entirely through his notes. The dead horse is bad scholarship and stultified criticism. Mr. Warren is a good poet, perhaps the best novelist we have, and an unusually able interpretative critic. What in the name of all the muses is he doing with dead horse in high and public forum? The stench is precisely what Coleridge's poem survives; and what we want from a critic of Mr. Warren's talent is the elucidation of what is living; our senses are only distracted and our sensibility disordered when Mr. Warren brings us to his elucidation through a vast amount of other people's misapprehension, misjudgment, and belittlement of everything that makes possible either the writing or the reading of great poetry. As a professor, Mr. Warren must instruct his students in clearing away dead scholarship; as a critic, he should use what is

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VARICK STREET

At night the factories
struggle awake,
wretched uneasy buildings
veined with pipes
attempt their work.
Trying to breathe
the elongated nostrils
haired with spikes
give off such stenches, too.
And I shall sell you sell you
sell you of course, my dear, and you'll sell me.

On certain floors
certain wonders.
Pale dirty light,
some captured iceberg
being prevented from melting.
See the mechanical moons,
sick, being made
to wax and wane
at somebody's instigation.
And I shall sell you sell you
sell you of course, my dear, and you'll sell me.

Lights music of love
work on. The presses
print calendars
I suppose, the moons
make medicine
or confectionery. Our bed
shrinks from the soot
and hapless odors
hold us close.
And I shall sell you sell you
sell you of course, my dear, and you'll sell me.

ELIZABETH BISHOP

Puerto Rican Paradox

By VINCENZO PETRULLO

Scenic splendor hiding hunger; American citizens denied the right to vote; alien customs superimposed on a Spanish heritage—these are the contradictions of this over-populated, restless island. An unbiased picture of Puerto Rico today, major colonial problem of the United States. **$3.00**

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living scholarship on living poetry and ignore—in the face of criticism—the rest. It is only in this way that scholarship gains from criticism its contingent discipline; and it is from such scholarship that criticism gains, if ever, its provisional certainty—by which I mean, gains direction, relevance, and the power to discover through attacking real problems something of what actually happens in the poetry being criticized. To rehearse artificial problems—problems of error no longer vital—is to issue in that kind of drivel which is the breakdown not so much of speech as of thought itself.

The shocking thing is that in the free institution of literature as we have it our scholars and critics seem self-committed by some rule of manners not gentlemanly to carry along with them an almost suicidal burden of known error in fact and proved incompetence in response. Mr. Warren wobbles under the burden of Griggs and Lowes and many others and even when he throws it off he never quite recovers; his left shoulder remains a little lower than his right. The result of this institutional game is not unlike that of football as a school for life—a warping of emphasis and a disproportion of the muscles. To drag dead horse becomes an obsessive temptation.

But literature *is* a free institution, and to play the burdensome game is no part of its dogma: it does nothing to express its vital purpose; and Mr. Warren, after, and even while, giving a long and technically competent example of how to play the game, proceeds with his own shining purpose. We see his good works, and they glorify that version of the heaven of man's mind which is poetry. He shows us the glory and the horror—and all the mighty hunting of whole human adventure—which live and move like inertia itself in "The Ancient Mariner." He makes the renewing act of full response; he *uses* the poem; and the use, by the contagion of momentous participation in an act which Coleridge did not begin but discovered and which is not now done but goes on, is open to continuous discovery. That is, Mr. Warren elucidates the symbols—of light and dark, wind and sea, moon and storm, crime and punishment, man and imagination—by which the poem moves as fully created

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and thereby inexhaustible. We see how it is that the stress and the tensions between the symbols interanimate the words beyond any force of narrative or allegory and give the whole poem "expressive integration" and a kind of absolute momentum of its own. Perhaps Mr. Warren does this by bringing to the poem things not previously there; but the poem called for them, as it calls again in fresh readings; and we see that they are now there, and that if, as I believe, Mr. Warren's citations of Coleridge's prose are justly chosen, Coleridge would have accepted them as a further imaginative revelation of the truth: implicit in the great symbolic stress of the actual already there.

Thus—and this is the most shocking thing of all, the shock of delight—Mr. Warren redeems his heavy pawn. Let us see along what lines he does so. There is the line of what he calls the primary theme of the poem—the sacramental vision of life, which he believes Coleridge only indicated in the fable of the poem, the bare narrative of the voyage out, the murder, the punishment, the dark night, and the voyage back. It is the characteristic fable of the saint's life; it is how we understand the source of compassion and the power of charity; we recognize in it an element of ourselves which as we do not dare to imitate its ordeal we cannot hope to attain. It is the sacrament we know by the small refusal. This is the theological theme which we get around by psychological means because we cannot reach it by symbolic means. Mr. Warren is right to discuss the aesthetics of that failure; it is a primary failure in the approach of mass education to the arts; but it is a pity he had to discuss it in terms of the record of bad readings of Coleridge's poem. Only good readings bring him home.

Home is in his second line, which is nearer at hand. This is what he calls the secondary theme of the poem: the poet hunting down his imagination, and the imagination, so to speak, hunting down the poet who has evoked it; with the booty quarried everywhere and nowhere, created in the hunt, haunting the hunter and the hunt in the full reversal of roles, the symbolic life of the poem itself: what *all* the parts participate in and draw on. This is the theme of purpose and being, of vitality and identity, the theme of the *unacknowledgeable role*—not the unacknowledged legislation—of the poet's calling. Again, Mr. Warren is right to discuss this theme, and especially in terms of "The Ancient Mariner," for Coleridge gave that theme its richest and most mature expression in English, and so left behind him very potent symbols of his calling.

We are a race that lives so little in the actual that we need constantly to be reminded by great symbols of what business we are about. It is Mr. Warren's exemplary task to make us bring with us the right equipment to see what the great symbols in Coleridge's poems affect in ourselves. It is not his task, and no way exemplary—it is never the critic's task—to blow into the momentary and artificial life of controversy the dead—however contemporary, it is still dead—history of the misapprehensions and stupidities which prevent access to the symbols at all. Great poetry *remains* fresh; but criticism must be made fresh each time. If Mr. Warren did not so evidently know this I could not say it aloud but only, like Mr. Cowley, cry silently, Uncle! Uncle!

R. P. BLACKMUR

Boring from Within

RELIGION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION. By V. T. Thayer. The Viking Press. $2.75.

IN 1848, when he heard the rumbling of social and democratic changes, the "liberal" and "Voltairean" Adolphe Thiers exclaimed, "Let us rush to the feet of the bishops!" There is something of this feeling in many minds today. A religion is good for the people. If we

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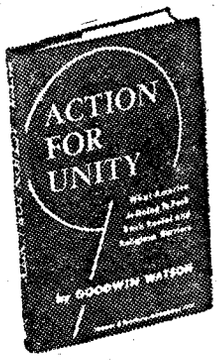

ACTION FOR UNITY

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Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

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want to save the good old ways, there is no better means than the old-time religion.

Hence an insidious and ubiquitous effort to establish closer cooperation between religion, that is, the churches, and public education. It is this trend that Dr. V. T. Thayer studies and denounces. In his eyes, it is a danger, for ever since the Bill of Rights "the American Way" has implied the complete separation of church and state, and the common school as the matrix of the commonwealth.

The peril may not seem pressing, but "eternal vigilance" is a wise rule, and the churches are the most formidable of all lobbies. The entering wedge is religious instruction given in "released time." The second move is the half-concealed subsidizing of parochial schools—free textbooks or, in California, free school buses. Then come open subsidies; finally we are heading for the regime that prevailed in Alsace under German rule, and which the French felt bound to respect: all state schools to be sectarian, in proportion to the numbers of each denomination.

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This, to Dr. Thayer, is sheer clericalism, and an abomination. He too stands for "the good old ways," the eternal verities as revealed to the Founding Fathers. He has the eighteenth-century belief that everyone should be allowed to seek salvation according to his own law. That belief was not really pluralistic. It implied that under the historical variety of sects there was a common law, the natural law. The sects would ultimately fade away. Their traditional tenets and ceremonies had nothing to do with morality, anyway. Dr. Thayer quotes Dr. Negley K. Teeters to the effect that in twenty-nine penitentiaries 71.8 per cent of the inmates were affiliated with some religion, as against 46.6 per cent of the population as a whole.

Perhaps we should go back to the "good old days," the old-time religion of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, and Tom Paine, "Common Sense for the Common School." Perhaps on the contrary we should recognize pluralism more fully, and give up the thought of making undogmatic Christianity—the faith of the Savoyard Vicar—the basic religion of the state. In this little book Dr. Thayer raises many problems. He does so quietly, modestly, perhaps a little reticently. He still seems to feel that it is "un-American" to indulge in religious controversy. The secularists, whom he defends, are officially in possession. But they shall not hold their advantage very long, or deserve to hold it, unless they are ready to offer positive reasons for their historical privilege.

ALBERT GUERARD

Haydn—The Life and Works

HAYDN: A Creative Life in Music. By Karl Geiringer. W. W. Norton and Company. $5.

DR. KARL GEIRINGER'S new biography of Haydn is frequently a good and useful book, but it somehow evades being the really valuable book it deserved to be. The biographical section is well done—as a short, summary life; but short, summary biographies, even though more summary than the present one, are all we have ever had in English; it is time, and Dr. Geiringer is the necessary scholar, for a less terse account. Most of the actual facts and anecdotes seem to have got into Dr. Geiringer's story, but the corroborative detail intended to lend artistic verisimilitude is frequently left out. For example, we are again retold from Griesinger that Haydn wrote 768 pages of music during his London visits, but we must still turn to Botstiber (Pohl, III, 91-2) to discover what compositions they contained; similarly none of the extant programs of the London concerts are given. More serious is Dr. Geiringer's frequent habit of paraphrasing rather than quoting much of even the most interesting of the correspondence: such a letter as that of January 8, 1791, to Frau von Genzinger describing the first arrival in London—it is the source of information about that event—deserves being printed rather than merely utilized.

However, the treatment of background material, particularly for the exciting first English trip, may be taken as a model of informative and unobtrusive excellence, and it is this, together with the fuller account of Haydn's ancestry, which forms the bulk of the new biographical material appearing in English. Dr. Geiringer, doubtless assuming knowledge of his indebtedness to Pohl-Botstiber, and beyond them to Dies, Griesinger, and the other early sources, has lightly documented his biography. I suggest this to be essentially a mistake, since it must always be helpful to the student without access to these books to have reliable knowledge of the primary sources. And sometimes Dr. Geiringer is led to make statements that seem to require corroborating where none is forthcoming, as the following: "Leaving England, and this time he knew it was for good, was by no means easy. . . . His English admirers were not aware of Haydn's inner struggles; to them the matter had a different aspect. The King had invited Haydn to take up his residence in England and the master had refused. . . ." Dr. Geiringer's reasons for this conclusion are probably sound; but I for one am curious to know what they are.

For one accomplishment Dr. Geiringer deserves special credit. He is the one transplanted German musicologist known to the reviewer who in writing a book for the general American public has shown any really intelligent signs of adapting his material to the requirements of that public. Except for one

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unnecessary jab at Dr. Kuhac—who incorrectly claimed Haydn as a Croat—the book is entirely free from offensive pan-Germanism, and the English, though not distinguished, is clear and precise—and it is English, for a wonder, and not transliterated German (Drs. Einstein, Sachs, Apel, Schrade, and Lang should take note).

Unfortunately, the musical section of the book is much less good than the biographical section. Any discussion of Haydn's music must inevitably bear comparison with Tovey; and Dr. Geiringer's study cannot compare. Tovey, even where his data were incomplete, had a remarkable genius for striking directly at first—and consequently illuminating—principles, and this is the one thing Dr. Geiringer fails to achieve. Dr. Geiringer knows intimately and discusses in some detail much music not treated before in English, but at the best he conducts a sort of Cook's tour of interesting data without ever getting at the meat of Haydn's mental processes, and at times this inability to penetrate the surface traps him into being actually misleading. For example, German musicology has two convenient eighteenth-century pigeonholes: contrapuntal music is "Baroque" and "learned"; homophonic music "rococo" and "galant." These labels have a certain specious reasonableness when applied to secondary composers; however, for Mozart, and Haydn, black and white categories simply break down. But when Dr. Geiringer discovers Haydn writing fugal finales in his Op. 20 quartets, automatically he slaps on the "learned" label and makes the expected contrast with "rococo," despite the fact that twenty years ago Tovey convincingly demonstrated in his article in Cobbett's "Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music"—which must remain the classic examination of Haydn's musical development—that these fugues are anything but a return to the past. Again, Tovey was greatly concerned about the evolution, which he lacked the material to trace, of Haydn's orchestral technique in the "lost" middle-period symphonies. The critical edition breaks off after the first fifty, and Haydn's symphonies vanish from view, exhibiting very crude tuttis combined with fantastic solo passages; and they only reappear, in accessible modern editions, with the Paris symphonies of a dozen years later, exhibiting Haydn's mature and flexible tutti-writing combined with infinite caution over exposed solos. But Dr. Geiringer is so little aware of this matter that in discussing all the latter symphonies he has practically nothing to say about orchestral technique. Although the musical section contains much information not otherwise readily available, the absence of a large perspective reduces it all to secondary value; and the kindest light in which to view the section is as a useful supplement to Tovey's various Haydn essays.

The absence of a catalogue of Haydn's works is a serious flaw; but Dr. Geiringer has supplied a chapter on the difficulties involved in making one—they are indeed formidable—and has explained privately to a friend of the reviewer that at present, with most of the materials for such a catalogue isolated in Europe, he did not feel prepared to attempt one. The catalogue appended to his article in Thompson's "International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians" was not compiled by him but by Thompson, which is presumably why it was not reprinted.

CHARLES B. FARRELL

The Misanthrope

THE COLLECTED WRITINGS OF AMBROSE BIERCE. The Citadel Press. $4.

THE vogue among publishers for low-priced one-volume Collected Works which is currently contributing to American literary education also has its drawbacks. For the effect of reading everything an author has written is by no means always to make us know him better than we did when he was identified for us by a few works which had come to represent his special signature. Every author, no matter how original, by the inescapable process of learning his art from others and by the residue of those others and of the raw and accidental in his art, is at times estranged in his creation from that unique, ever-expanding Word which marks him off from his fellow-artists and from the mere craftsman. It is the function of criticism, a form of myth-making, to restore him to himself, to reveal and define the limits of his identity, that which he does not have in common with anyone else, and not always with himself, that Whole, unveiled only at intervals, which is incommensurable with the sum of his life and his labors. Collected Works—except for the critic, who discards as he reads—far from heightening the image provided by criticism, or replacing it with a more faithful one, tend to spread and blur it by bringing into focus the foreign material which the artist absorbed.

It is especially for a writer like Ambrose Bierce, a "mysterious figure" in the popular sense, a semi-littérateur and journalist, impure in artistic motivation, practicing his profession on the borderline of the featureless magazine thriller and the columnist's human-interest story, a Western American without formal education but spontaneously drawn to the themes and gestures of the most extreme European aestheticism: death, terror, fantasy and the incommunicable, the evocation of entranced states, black humor, deliberate cruelty, aristocratic pose, elegance—it is

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especially for such a genuine literary dragon and valuable adulterated American mixture, upon whom few modernist literary masks would fit, or fail to fit, that we need critical work done and a critical edition.

Here we have, if not all of Bierce, at least too much, more than 800 pages: the tales of the Civil War and other violent deaths of "In the Midst of Life," the narratives of the supernatural of "Can Such Things Be?" and "Negligible Tales," the slapstick sadistic farces of "The Parenticide Club," the wisecracks in prose and verse of "The Devil's Dictionary," and the ironical inventions of the "Fantastic Fables," among whose short paragraphs are some of the only perfect things Bierce wrote—for instance, the fable of the sad encounter between the Moral Principle and the Material Interest. "The Monk and the Hangman's Daughter," of which Bierce was not the author, is also included, for the rather odd reason "that a good part of Bierce's literary reputation is based on this tale"—a fact convenient to show how accurate a myth can be, since this Gothic tale of sin and madness sums up Bierce's moods and literary affiliation better than any single piece he did write.

Along with Poe, Bierce was one of those rare birds in American literature—a Dandy, in Baudelaire's sense of the term. The Dandy opposes to society, and to the human world generally, not some principle but himself, his temperament, his dreamed-of depths, his talent for shocking, hoaxing, and dizzying his readers. An aesthetic Enemy of the People, Bierce exploited whatever was most questionable in his personality, dramatizing his sense of guilt and perdition in theatrical horrors and a costume of malice. What appear to be genuine pathological states often give a sharpened realism to the spectacles of hangings, suicides, and deaths from fright which entertained his imagination. Movement suddenly stops dead in his scenes; his victim's mind splits in two, so that he watches his fate with the detachment of a spectator; a horse and rider hang suspended in space; armies crawl in nightmare silences through blood-coated forests—curious waxwork dioramas clotted in the vertigo of fear.

Out there in his West Coast newspaper office Bierce was somehow seized by that hypnosis of evil and that defiance that have inspired so much of modern literature from symbolism to Dada and surrealism. Probably because of his provincialism, however, his work lacks conscious relations with what was going on both in contemporaneous literary movements and in the spirit of man. As a result it shows no internal development and falls short of aesthetic conviction. His misanthropy, which Clifton Fadiman features in an introduction, often satisfies itself with mere bladder-whacking of greed and social folly. As if he doubted his ability to convey his sensations of menace and ruin, Bierce repeatedly overdoes his effects—the horrors of war are not enough; he must work it out so that the soldier slays his own father or his wife and child—and mauls his reader with trick endings, punch lines, and strained rhetoric. Again and again everything turns on passages like: "So horrible a cry I had never heard nor conceived; it utterly unnerved me; I was conscious for a moment of nothing but my own terror." Soon monotony begins to rise like a gas out of this bulk of pages.

Yet behind Bierce's overstuffed prose, inflexible reiteration, Chamber of Horrors showmanship, and hand-cranked plot machinery, there do lie genuine poetic intuitions, as in "The Death of Halpin Frayser," authentic sensations of mystery and ancestral doom, and occasional daring perceptions of human nature. One is bound to try to imagine what Bierce might have achieved had he lived in a milieu where it was possible to take literature seriously.

HAROLD ROSENBERG

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IN THE early nineteen-thirties various established American playwrights searched their consciences anew and came forth with plays different from anything they had previously attempted and intended as answers to the demand of critics for socially conscious drama. Sidney Howard's contribution was "Yellow Jack," a chronicle history of the work of Walter Reed and his associates on the yellow-fever mosquito, written in collaboration with Paul de Kruif and first produced in 1934. The dramatic method, which calls for a nearly bare stage with a good deal of flashing on and off of lights, is pretty close to that of the Living Newspaper except that frankly didactic lectures directed straight at the audience are avoided, and inevitably this method seems a bit old-fashioned in the revival which the American Repertory Theater has just undertaken. I am, moreover, inclined to suspect that history is about to repeat itself. Several at least of the reviewers greeted the new production with precisely those exclamations of modified rapture which they usually reserve for a performance they do not really like as much as they think they should, and I shall have to enter a minority report.

The truth of the matter is that no one has ever discovered, so far at least, a very satisfactory method of conveying information in dramatic form. Any reasonably mature reader can learn more about either yellow fever or the scientific method by devoting fifteen minutes to reading a competent exposition of the subject than he can by an evening in the theater, and he will spare himself the inevitable tediousness resulting from all the lost motion involved in the attempt to put into dialogue form material which is never actually spoken as dialogue. People who favor this sort of thing generally think that they are demonstrating the essential seriousness of their minds, but the man who wants to get his history, his economics, his politics, and his science from novels and plays is not serious but frivolous, and unless we wish to develop a society in which no one ever consents to learn anything except by the radio or the movies, the sort of thing that "Yellow Jack" represents ought to be frowned upon rather than encouraged. In the good old days when the shelves of Sunday School libraries groaned under

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the weight of cautionary tales and instructive dialogues, in which every subject under the sun was reduced to a form supposed to be palatable to the young, no one ever supposed that such works were great or were intended for any except the temporarily or permanently immature.

Mr. Howard may not have been a great dramatist. He could, however, certainly create believable situations and write believable dialogue. No one who knew only the present play would ever believe that he was capable of either. Writing in any other form he would, I am sure, never have employed the maid with a duster to explain that it was just ten years ago today that the old master went away, but his lounging soldiers who talk in stilted colloquialisms about who died yesterday are not a whit more convincing, and the humor thrown in sounds like the jocosity of a Sunday School superintendent. Who can really believe that scientists working on a great problem spend half their time telling one another in words of one syllable what scientific method is? Or that young assistants, while the big boss is peering absently into a microscope, sketch for his benefit the early history of his specialty? And if anyone does believe that they spend half their time in such employments as these, does he also believe that they spend the other half striking stained-glass attitudes whenever some experiment comes off? "Adult theater" is what a certain kind of critic habitually calls this sort of thing, but the word which obviously fits is "childish."

The production of "Yellow Jack" marks a change in policy for the organization responsible for it, and it will be offered for a limited run uninterrupted by other items in the repertory. I am told that new financial arrangements seem to guarantee the survival of the company at least to the end of this season, and I should like to call the attention of those who are planning next year's activities to certain matters which involve both the choice of plays and the approach to a possible public. No one would maintain that "Henry VIII" is Shakespeare at his best; few, I think, that "John Gabriel Borkman" is the best of Ibsen or that "What Every Woman Knows" is the best of Barrie. Undoubtedly good plays of the second rank deserve a hearing, but the present company seems to have made a sort of cult of the worthy second best. Could we not have more often plays of brilliance and passion and power, and does not their absence tend cumulatively to suggest a tepidness which threatens to grow merely dreary? A successful repertory company ought to aim at being something more than the well-meaning producer of well-meaning plays, but unfortunately the appeal from Miss La Gallienne which has been inserted into the program of "Yellow Jack" tends to stress exclusively the duty of New Yorkers to patronize so well-meaning an enterprise. Never before in history has the citizen been so insistently called on to support so many worthy causes. Every newspaper and every morning's mail urges upon him the duty of joining this, or subscribing to that. Inescapably, in most cases, the appeal is the only appeal which it is possible to make. But does a theater really need to present itself as merely one more obligation which the harassed citizen must assume? Is he really likely to go to the theater because he thinks he ought to? Would it not be better simply to promise him delights?

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN RECOGNITION of Koussevitzky's service to American composers they gave him a testimonial dinner a year ago, and more recently the League of Composers gave a concert in his honor which provided him with the opportunity for some of the portentous pronouncements that he loves to make and that tend to get out of control—like "The supreme goal of the composer is to conquer time—to be in the past, in the present, and in the future, to convey the infinity of thought, emotion, and ideal, symbolizing eternity."

A little closer to earth was his contention that "no matter how much is done for the composer—it is not enough! Because the composer is the ever-living source, the life-giving oxygen without which music cannot exist." And his statement later on that "in music a score completed at the desk of the composer is only the beginning of the work to be accomplished; its fulfillment demands the cooperation of an auxiliary energy and a body of active and organized forces." The two statements complement each other: the composer is the source of what is brought to fulfillment by an auxiliary energy. And this means more than it appears to mean.

Its meaning is revealed by a letter from a musician who was able to listen to Koussevitzky's recording of Copland's "Appalachian Spring" with the score, and who is indignant about "the cuts (disgraceful), the bad playing (surprising), and the conductor's liberties with the score: at one place the music races twice as fast as the composer indicates. . . . To thousands of listeners that music will sound as Koussevitzky plays it, not as Copland conceived it." Koussevitzky once characterized a critic who had demanded obedience to the composer's score as a man who "doesn't want the music to be alive"; and from his changes of slow to fast (and fast to slow, also) in Copland's "Appalachian Spring" it is evident that he means those words about the music of living as well as dead composers. One cannot do enough for the composer; and the conductor doesn't do enough for him when he merely plays his music: Koussevitzky's own "cooperation" in its "fulfillment" has been imposition of changes in the shape of the work and its character and meaning that the composer has had to accept if he wanted it performed.

Did Mr. Copland, in his speech at that testimonial dinner he helped to

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arrange, say that grateful as the composers were to Koussevitzky for his performances of his altered versions of their works they would be even more grateful for performances of their own versions? Or did he realize that this would be an appeal for a humble and enlightened conception of the performer's relation to the composer that Koussevitzky already had shown himself to be incapable of?

What I would call the definitive performance of the Prelude to Wagner's "Meistersinger"—Toscanini's with the N. B. C. Symphony—is excellently reproduced on a Victor single disc (11-9385; $1). On another single (10-1277; $.75) are two spirituals, "Soon-A Will Be Done" and "Set Down, Servant," beautifully sung by Robert Shaw's Collegiate Chorale. And on still another (11-9386; $1) are the sailors' three solo dances from Leonard Bernstein's music for "Fancy Free," well-performed by the Boston "Pops" Orchestra under Fiedler and excellently recorded, but in need of the dancing of Lang, Kriza, and Robbins.

Dvorak's Cello Concerto is a work I have not cared much for even when it was played by Casals or Feuermann with distinguished musical taste and style. And I don't care for it at all as it is sentimentalized in the performance by Piatigorsky with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy, which has been issued by Columbia (Set 658; $5.85). What I mean by musical taste is exemplified by the horn solo on the first side, which brought tears to my eyes with the exquisite inflection of the beautiful sound; what I mean by sentimentalizing is exemplified by the exaggerated nuances of tone and pace in Piatigorsky's treatment of the same melody on the second side. A string player who listened with me was more disturbed than I by Piatigorsky's occasional deviations from pitch; but these constituted the only technical flaw in his playing. The recorded sound of the orchestra is spacious and agreeable, but without the warmth and splendor it should have; and it is blanketed occasionally by the cello.

The nine Scarlatti sonatas that Sylvia Marlowe has recorded for Musicraft (Set 72; $3.85) include some fine ones; but Miss Marlowe's harpsichord-playing is hammered-out spectacular sonority and nervous excitement or it is stodgy and dull. Spectacular sonority seems also to have been the objective in recording; and surfaces are poor.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Liberated Antiques

Dear Sirs: The third annual National Antiques Show is being held this year through March 16 at Madison Square Garden. Of particular interest to readers of *The Nation* will be a number of "liberated" antiques—*objets d'art* that were kept in hiding during the dark years of the Nazi occupation or were stolen by the Nazis and have since been recovered. MORTON YARMON,
General Manager

New York, March 5

In the Face of Reality

Dear Sirs: The article on Emily Greene Balch by John Herman Randall, Jr., in *The Nation* of January 4 was interesting, but you ought to clear up one point. The impression is left that Miss Balch was an "absolute pacifist" in the Second World War. Actually Miss Balch advocated our going to war. Many members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom abandoned their "non-violent opposition" stand in the face of ugly inescapable reality.

MARY BARNETT GILSON

Babson Park, Fla., February 19

Requests Stieglitz Items

Dear Sirs: I am putting the material at An American Place in order. I am also attempting to gather as much further material relating to Stieglitz and his life work as possible. In the event that your readers may have letters or other items that might be of general interest, I wonder whether they would be good enough to send the originals, which I will return, or copies of them to me at 124 East Seventieth Street, New York 24, N. Y. DOROTHY NORMAN

New York, February 27

Health Bill's Limitations

Dear Sirs: Dr. Harvey Cushing, whose health plans of 1934 Dr. Martin Gumpert recalls in your issue of February 1, was a genius as a surgeon and a Napoleonic personality. At the time he wrote the letter to President Roosevelt which Dr. Gumpert quotes he was working with the American Medical Association to prevent the inclusion of health insurance in the original Social Security Act, which the President's Committee on Economic Security was then drafting.

Doctor Cushing proposed much more than a coordination of federal health services, for he included, as Dr. Gumpert said, not only the Public Health Service but also the Children's Bureau, old-age insurance, and the Food and Drug Administration. A long step in the realization of his ideas was taken last summer when President Truman, acting under powers conferred by Congress, consolidated all the chief health, education, and welfare functions of the federal government in the present Federal Security Agency and subsequently proposed that such an agency should be a regular department with Cabinet status. Now comes the Fulbright-Taft bill. It would not set up a Department of Health but comes closer to Dr. Cushing's idea by establishing a Department of Health, Education, and Security.

Unfortunately, the Fulbright-Taft bill, despite this laudable objective, is full of undesirable provisions. It would tie the hands of the Secretary by prescribing in advance the organization of the new department. It makes further objectionable prescriptions concerning administrative policies and the appointment of personnel. There is not space here to go into more detail, but anyone who wishes can obtain a full analysis and copy of the bill itself from the Committee for the Nation's Health, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York. MICHAEL M. DAVIS

New York, February 18

Reduce the Cost

Dear Sirs: There can be no disagreement that public housing undertaken by municipal authorities is vitally necessary to the solution of the nation's housing problem. My point of difference with the thesis expressed by Charles Abrams in his series Homeless America (The *Nation,* December 21, 28, January 4) is one of emphasis and proportion. He gives the impression that the major way to meet the housing needs of the American people is through public housing. I doubt the necessity or political feasibility of a solution in which public

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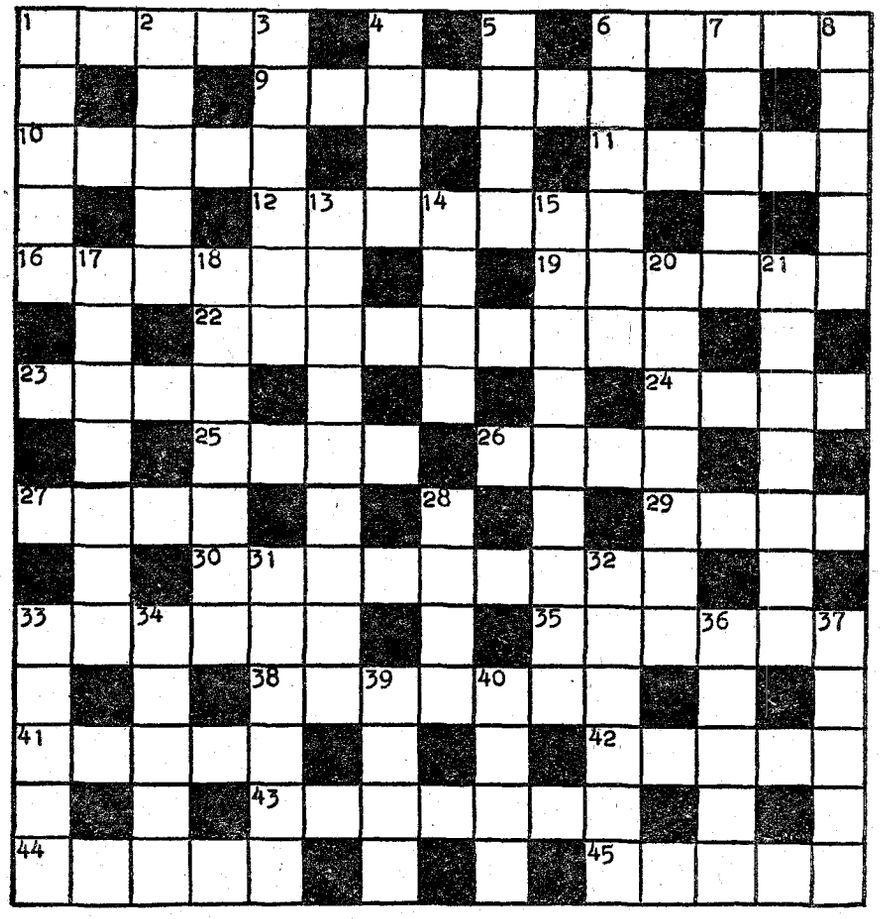
Crossword Puzzle No 203

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Young hopeful of the Green family
6 Extend or extent
9 Howl
10 Mill's place in literature
11 The prima donna and the Russian go into a clinch on the sofa
12 A best seller (3 & 4)
16 Her Pa's a molder
19 In Africa, the river feeding a lake
22 Not military policemen
23 Recognized
24 I'd eaten before ten
25 It bloweth where it listeth
26 "One Pinch, a hungry, ---- faced villain, A mere anatomy"
27 Nora has changed for the river
29 Rain would be a change for Persia
30 Girls venturing out in modern hats on a stormy day are apt to return looking thus
33 This wine is not lawyers' sherry
35 Throws up the sponge
38 Roseate flower
41 Refreshing outcome of a crushing operation
42 Doctor's pinch-hitter
43 Red wine should never be served thus (3 & 4)
44 Ice tower in a glacial crevasse
45 Whist! But how noisy!

DOWN

1 Exercises a fine discrimination
2 Feminine name meaning "a rose"
3 By no means a "dry" talker
4 Bet in a boa.
5 It's no joke if you fall into it
6 Fresh-water fish, also known as the rudd (3-3)
7 He's a head shorter than Calvin
8 He takes Ann up
13 I am in the artillery by order
14 French parish priest
15 They kept the cutlery clean before the days of stainless steel
17 Ha! Orion! (anag.)
18 Red Indian conjurors
20 Stupid
21 Dutch province—scene of a German last-ditch stand
28 He has the makings of a bore
31 Relating to physic or physicians
32 Brandishes
33 Dashing young fellows of Regency days
34 Comes at or on the back
36 The Bride of Lammermoor
37 Early in calling for help in the Aegean
39 Subjects of feminine reticence
40 Ferry fare

□—□—□—□

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 202

ACROSS:—1 JACK FROST; 6 NOOKS; 9 NEOZOIC; 10 RIBSTON; 11 SPENSER; 12 DILATES; 13 SSE; 15 PUPPET; 17 GROYNE; 18 OXEYE; 19 CACKLE; 22 MASCOT; 25 FLO; 27 IN A NAME; 28 POLITIC; 30 KEELSON; 31 ITALICS; 32 ROUEN; 33 LANDLORDS;

DOWN:—1 JINKS; 2 CLOSEUP; 3 FLOSSIE; 4 OCCURS; 5 TIRADE; 6 NEBULAR; 7 OUTSTAY; 8 SENESCENT; 14 SPELL; 15 PICKNICKER; 16 TOE; 17 GEM; 20 CHATEAU; 21 LIAISON; 23 ALL HAIL; 24 CATTIER; 25 FENNEL; 26 OPTION; 29 CASTS.

housing would represent the largest volume of housing construction.

Through the additional legislation provided in the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, which has not yet been introduced in the new Congress, it should be possible for private enterprise to provide decent housing for sale or rental to the lower income groups. The bill would provide more favorable financing terms, which would mean lower monthly housing costs.

In addition, we must bring about a reduction in the capital cost of housing, To do this, we must stimulate modern industrial methods in housing production. Housing today stands almost alone as a remnant of handicraft methods. The result is that consumers must pay the price of an expensive and antiquated method of producing homes. With the economics of mass-production and assembly-line methods, capital costs of housing can be brought down even in today's market.

With both financing charges and capital costs reduced, private enterprise could serve a larger percentage of the families in need of decent homes. For families which still could not afford such decent private housing, public housing would continue to be necessary, but in smaller proportions than Mr. Abrams suggests. CLARK FOREMAN

Washington, February 22

CONTRIBUTORS

HANS REICHENBACH, now on leave from the Department of Philosophy of the University of California, is the author of "Experience and Prediction."

R. P. BLACKMUR is a member of the Department of English at Princeton University. He is the author of "The Second World," "The Expense of Greatness," and "From Jordan's Delight."

ELIZABETH BISHOP is the author of "North and South," which received the Macmillan Poetry Award.

ALBERT GUERARD is professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University.

CHARLES B. FARRELL has written several reviews for *The Nation* after having appeared anonymously many times in Mr. Haggin's column.

HAROLD ROSENBERG, author of a book of poems, "Trance above the Streets," is a frequent contributor to the *Partisan Review*, *Commentary*, *Poetry*, and *View*.

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